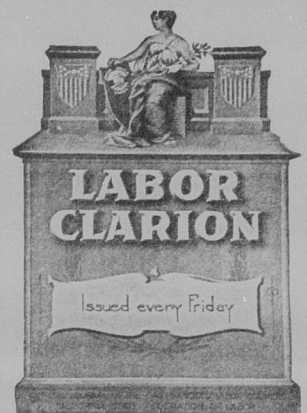




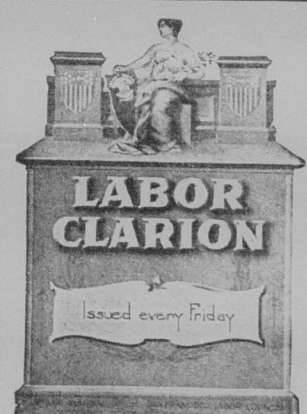
Labor Day



Organized Labor Stands for the Welfare of Children



1926



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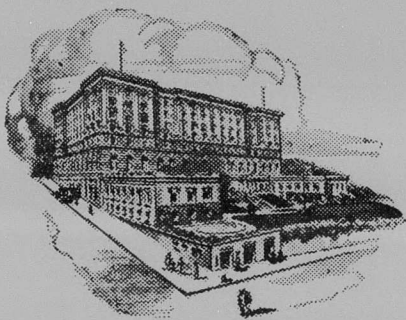
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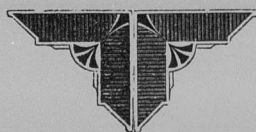
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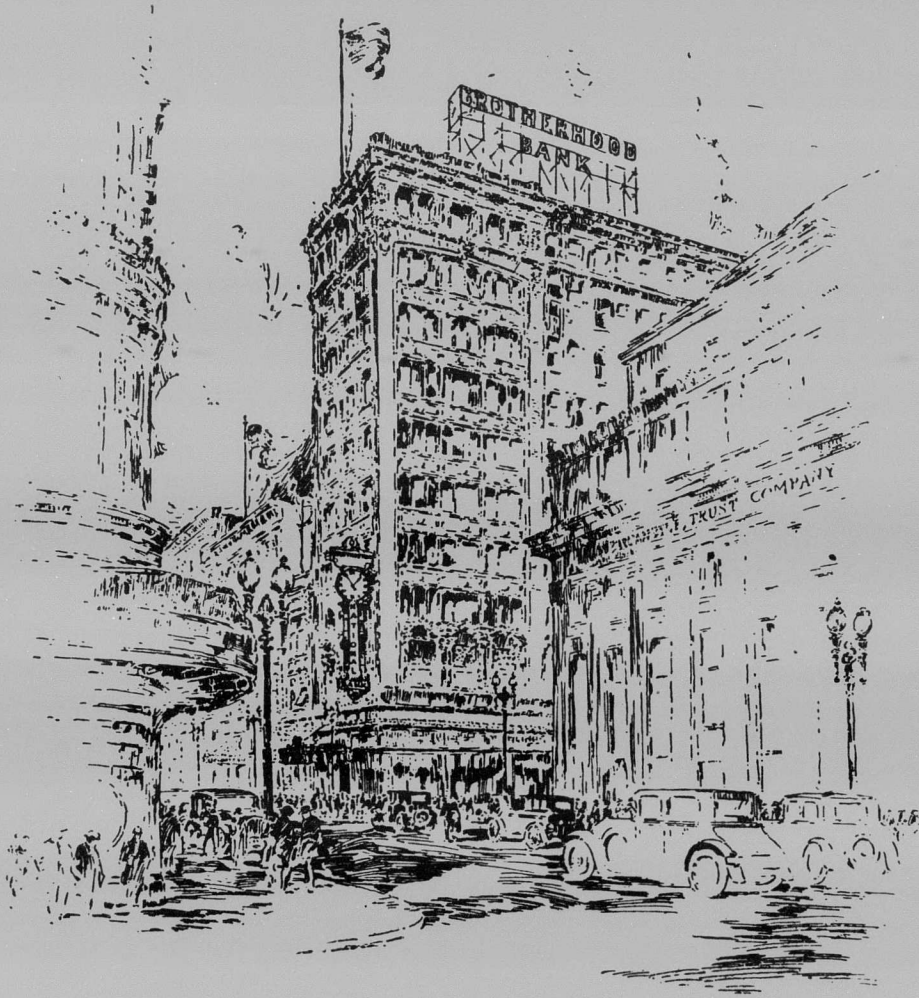
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LABOR CLARION

The Official Journal of the San Francisco Labor Council

VOL. XXV

SAN FRANCISCO, SEPTEMBER 3, 1926

No. 31

ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTH

The most pitiful thing in the industrial world today is the fellow who works for wages and remains outside of the organization of his craft or who works for a large corporation that has been able, by one means or another, to prevent the coming together of its workers in a bona fide union, because such individuals are absolutely without any protection against the tyranny of those in positions of authority and must submit uncomplainingly to every whim and caprice of the lords of industry, who usually do not even give the worker as much consideration as they devote to looking after the machinery in their plants. When the worker is worn out and unable to deliver the goods he can be thrown upon the scrap-heap without any expense to the establishment, while when a piece of machinery has outlived its usefulness it must be replaced by something that costs real money. It is, therefore, to the interest of the captains of industry to see to it that the machinery is given such consideration as will prolong its life and usefulness as long as possible.

One of our great showmen once said that there was a sucker born every minute and that there was no great danger of the supply ever being exhausted, and judging by the number of individuals who stay outside of unions, and the number that come in and then pay no more attention to the business of the organizations to which they belong, it would seem that the fellow had plenty of reason for the confidence he held as to the unending supply of fools upon whom to prey.

Some of those who have come into the unions during recent years, particularly the younger element, are unable to appreciate the vast influence that the unions have exercised over industry, because when they came in they found conditions that were pretty good, with wages that enabled them to live upon a higher level than was possible for their parents, hours much shorter than their fathers enjoyed and the surroundings far more healthful and sanitary than they had been in the past. For some reason they do not stop to think about what brought these betterments into existence, or if they do think about the question, they conclude that the union can continue its good work without any assistance from them. They seem to feel that the union is a mysterious thing capable of performing miracles instead of an institution made up of human beings just like

themselves, and by thus conducting themselves they overlook many great opportunities to be of service to themselves and to the workers generally.

Of course experience is the best teacher in a good many ways, but if we are to have an enlightened and militant labor movement we cannot wait for the unorganized, or the thoughtless organized workers, to gain their knowledge of the great value of organization through the bitter school of experience. Those who have had to go through the trials and discomforts of the unorganized days must convey the facts to those who were without that kind of training. This is a duty that rests squarely upon the shoulders of every member of a union who knows the story of the past, and he is a slacker who fails to live up to the possibilities of his fortunate situation. Human beings are something more than mere animals, all of which must start life on the same level as did its predecessors, because of lack of mental equipment with which to take advantage of the experiences of the past. Men are more fortunate in that they are so constituted as to be able to make a record of the things that have transpired and pass that record on to those that follow so that life can be started on a higher plane and thereby insure continued progress toward better things for all humanity. This applies to the labor movement just as it does to every other human institution, and if the movement is to keep pace with the rapid progress that is being made in the modern industrial world those interested in seeing the worker reach a station where he will be something more than a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water for the elect of society will exert themselves to carry the necessity for organization to the attention of all those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brows, and this very largely without regard for the particular kind of service the individual worker is rendering to society.

"United we stand. Divided we fall." We must, therefore, educate, agitate, organize, every day, every week, every month, every year, until all of the wage workers are within the labor movement and marching in a solid phalanx against those who would exploit them for their own benefit. Every unorganized worker is a menace to himself, to the organized and to the progress of society.

LABOR DAY

By WILLIAM GREEN, President American Federation of Labor.

Two issues of far-reaching importance should be emphasized Labor Day. They are:

1. An intensive trade union organization campaign.
2. The Non-Partisan political campaign of the American Federation of Labor.

Wherever Labor Day is celebrated, and from reports this will be almost universal, agitation should be renewed for a vigorous continuance of the campaign to organize every wage earner eligible to membership in a trade union.

The experiences of those who in many states exhibited "Labor's Rewards," the moving picture outlining the successes of the American labor movement, clearly demonstrate that hundreds of thousands of wage earners are anxious to organize.

Speakers at Labor Day demonstrations would do well to urge every member of a trade union to appoint himself a committee of one to seek new members.

Unions that have adopted this policy have gained in membership. Members of unions who have relied upon the officers alone to accomplish results have not been so successful.

It is therefore necessary for the rank and file of all unions to understand that it is their duty to aid their officers at all times in the work of organization.

The present stable conditions enjoyed by the organized

wage earners of America were not voluntarily conceded by employers. They are the result of organization, of years of struggle and sacrifice, until collective bargaining became the recognized vehicle through which it was possible to maintain industrial peace.

Organized labor is a recognized institution. The right to organize is not questioned. No reason can be advanced, therefore, why every union should not be 100 per cent organized. It all depends upon the willingness of the members to perform their share of organization work.

The importance of selecting members of Congress who will be true to their constituents and to the people generally cannot be overestimated. Thirty-four Senators and 435 members of the House of Representatives are to be elected.

There is hardly a Congressional district in the United States in which the voters cannot nominate and elect a forward-looking representative. It is doubtful if there is a state in which a Senator cannot be nominated and elected who will be true to the people. The only obstacle will be the failure of the wage earners to vote for the most acceptable candidates.

Members of the House of Representatives should be elected who will refuse to permit three men to dictate what legislation shall be considered and voted upon. It is a dictator-

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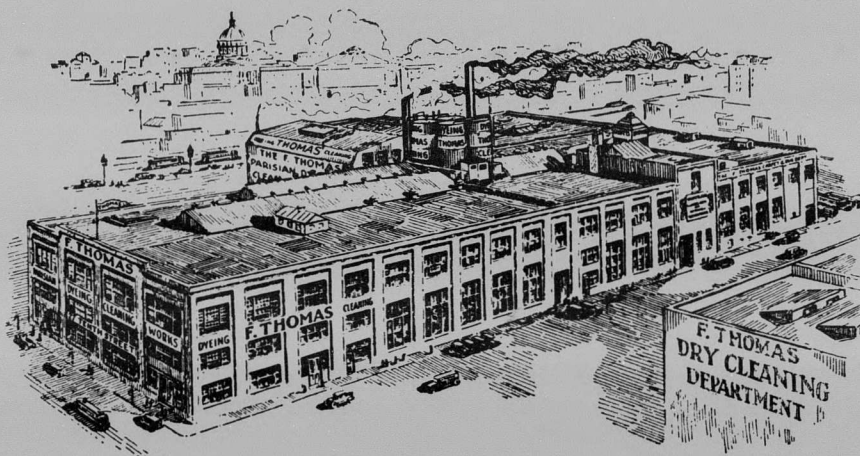
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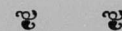
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ship repugnant to our democratic institutions and those responsible should be emphatically rebuked through the ballot.

The issue from now until election should be how to arouse the voters, how to convince the wage earners that if they desire a Congress that will favor remedial legislation and defeat malevolent legislation they will go to the polls on election day and vote.

It is not a question of party politics, it is a question of the men and the principles they represent. It is a question of which candidates more truly measure up to the requirements of the people.

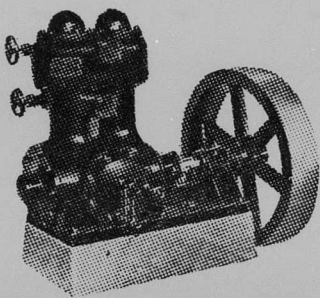
Labor also should be warned that the conspiracy to repeal direct primary laws will be fatal to the nomination of friendly candidates. The claim that the people are competent to elect delegates to party conventions which nominate candidates but are not competent to nominate candidates directly should be answered by the ridicule it deserves. The people are more to be trusted than are the political bosses.

It is my hope that every wage earner will faithfully register and vote in the November election. But these votes must be cast for candidates who will be loyal to labor as labor never asks for anything that is not good for the people generally.

This applies to Canadian wage earners as well as those of the United States, as only the most acceptable candidates should be elected to the Dominion Parliament.

Therefore let us all this Labor Day declare that we will launch an organization campaign greater than that of any previous year and that we will vote for candidates that we know will be faithful to the wishes of labor and the people.

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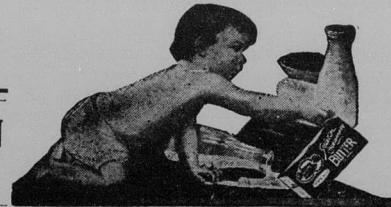
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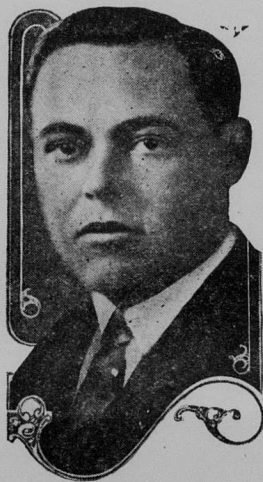
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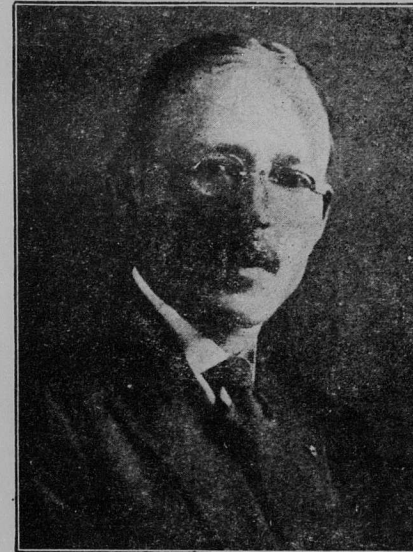
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John I. Nolan—A Life of Achievement

By JOHN P. FREY, In Molders' Journal

The friends of our late brother, John I. Nolan, have voiced a desire for a brief review of the outstanding events in his life. The molders with whom he worked in New England and the central west, are familiar with his activities as a member of their local union. His friends on the Pacific Coast are acquainted with his rapid rise to prominence in the San Francisco and California trade-union movement. His associates in Washington have a vivid recollection of the brilliant, forceful, upright character who served for four terms with such distinction as the representative of the California Fifth Congressional District. John I. Nolan's activities were so varied, and touched so many fields of effort that only his intimate friends knew of the many subjects which absorbed his interest and all of his energy.

His boyhood days gave promise of the leader that was to be. His loyalty to his friends, his active resentment toward injustice, his desire to participate in every movement which meant improved conditions for those who toiled, animated his early years. Long before manhood was reached, he was working shoulder to shoulder with the leaders in the San Francisco trade-union movement.

He was still an apprentice boy when the great molders' strike of 1890 occurred in San Francisco. He was so active in this contest; he was so much a part of the strike, that it

was with the utmost difficulty that he was able to secure the opportunity of finishing his apprenticeship when the strike was over. As an apprentice boy he had done picket duty, had worked with the strike committee, and had been the leading spirit in organizing and directing the other apprentice boys who were on strike. His exceptional qualities attracted the attention of the chairman of the strike committee, Joseph F. Valentine. A personal friendship developed between the two which lasted throughout the years of official relationship which followed.

The day that Brother Nolan completed his apprenticeship he was initiated as a member of Local Union No. 164, San Francisco. Some time afterwards he decided to follow the molder's custom and travel for a while. For a period of years he worked as molder in the New England states and central west, but San Francisco called, and he returned to his native city. Almost immediately he became a prominent figure in the trade-union movement. He was elected secretary of the Iron Trades Council, one of the first, if not the first, Metal Trades Council in America. The energetic and successful manner in which he performed the work assigned to him, led to his election as secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council. The ability which he indicated led this body to elect him as its legislative agent during the thirty-eighth

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and thirty-ninth sessions of the California State Legislature.

It was while serving as legislative agent that Brother Nolan began to give evidence of his exceptional ability as a practical student of those problems which labor must solve through legislation. His ability to analyze the principles contained in a measure introduced by labor, his gift in prevailing upon others to understand labor's necessities and rights, were largely instrumental in securing some of the most constructively progressive legislation which the Legislature of California enacted.

The 1909 session of the Legislature was under the complete control of the old reactionary elements, and Brother Nolan's experience during this session enabled him to acquire experience which was most helpful when the 1911 session was held. As a result of trade-union and progressive activity a new type of man had been elected to the Legislature, and Governor Hiram W. Johnson had won his first political victory.

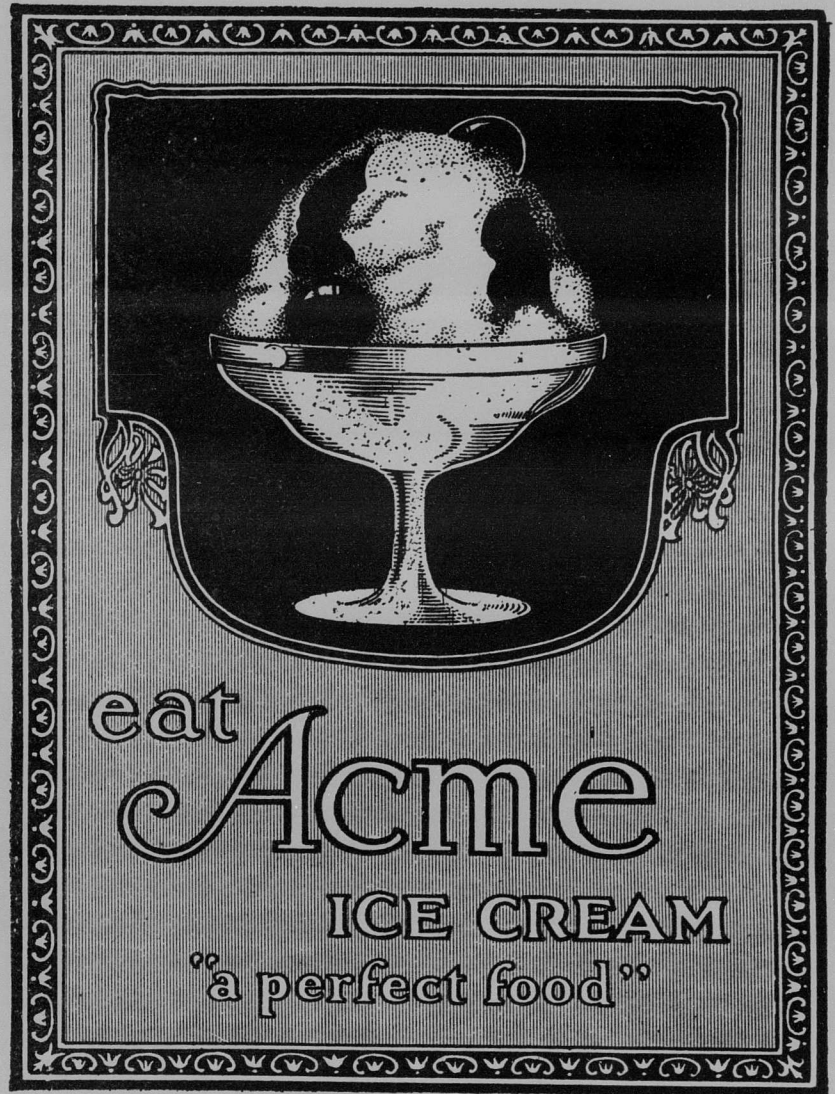
During this session of the Legislature the first workmen's compensation law in California was enacted. The trade-union movement was also successful in securing an eight-hour law for women; a practical, thorough-going, direct primary law, and a restoration of the Australian ballot system. The Legislature also submitted to the people for their referendum vote five proposed amendments to the state constitution which provided for the initiative and referendum; the recall of public officials including the judiciary; free text-books; female suffrage, and state inspection of weights and measures. All of these proposed constitutional amendments were adopted by the referendum vote.

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The energy which Brother Nolan had shown, the success which had followed his efforts, had made him one of the best known trade-union leaders in the state. It was no surprise when the Fifth Congressional District of California was created that Brother Nolan's friends insisted that he should be the first Congressman. The surprising incident connected with his nomination was the fact that he was selected at the primary by the Republican, the Bull Moose, and the Democratic parties, so that the primary elected him. In the years which followed he was always renominated by all of the political parties in his district with the exception of the Socialist. In this respect his record is unique. No other Congressman has ever been so honored by the citizens of his district.

The newly elected Congressman had been in Washington but a short time when he was recognized as one of the ablest representatives which organized labor had sent to the capitol. Before his first term had expired he had acquired an exceptional reputation as a careful, thorough-going student of legislative questions. He had vigorously defended every measure which had been introduced by organized labor, and he more than held his own in many of the debates. He had shown a sincerity of purpose, a capacity to work, and a

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sturdiness of character which won so many friends that he was already being consulted by leaders in the Senate as well as in the House in connection with labor legislation.

One of his first Congressional assignments was upon the patent committee. The questions coming before this committee were entirely outside the realm of trade-union activities. Brother Nolan found time to study the many intricate problems connected with the patent office, and so thoroughly did he grasp the details that he astounded the House leaders by his mastery of the subjects referred to the committee. He became chairman of this committee in the sixty-fourth Congress, and one of his legislative accomplishments was the reorganization of the patent office, which was accomplished by an increase in salary to all of the employees.

He also was made a member of the committee on labor, and had the satisfaction of eventually becoming the chairman of this committee.

As time passed his unusual talents, the rapidity with which he mastered the details of legislative problems, his unswerving moral courage, and indomitable fighting spirit, led to still further recognition. He was appointed one of five members of the steering committee of the House in the sixty-seventh Congress, this being the committee which mapped out the program and directed the legislative proceedings of that body.

While a member of Congress he introduced many bills, some upon the request of the American Federation of Labor, and some upon his own initiative. Among the latter was his minimum wage bill for government employees, which.

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when it was introduced, was considered to be revolutionary by the reactionaries in Congress. An effort was made to ignore the bill or ridicule it into defeat, but through speeches, the logic of which could not be ignored, through conferences with other Congressmen, Brother Nolan wore down the opposition until he succeeded in securing the passage of the measure. The Senate refused to pass the bill. At the next session Brother Nolan again carried his bill victoriously through the House, and again it was defeated in the Senate. A third time Brother Nolan carried his bill through the House, and once more the Senate, influenced by a group of southern Senators who were evidently actuated by race prejudice because they thought the measure would unduly benefit the colored government worker, killed the measure. Had Brother Nolan's life been spared there is no doubt but that the opposition in the Senate would have been overcome.

When the American Federation of Labor had its convict labor bill introduced, Brother Nolan immediately assumed responsibility for securing the enactment of the measure. He was successful, but the Senate was opposed. At the next session of Congress he again succeeded in securing the passage of the bill, but once more the Senate gave evidence of its reactionary tendencies.

Brother Nolan entered Congress in 1913 and left its halls forever in 1922. During these nine years his voice and vote was recorded for every labor measure having the approval of the American Federation of Labor. His untimely death was due more to his untiring labors than any other cause. He refused to take needed rest; he was unwilling to set aside

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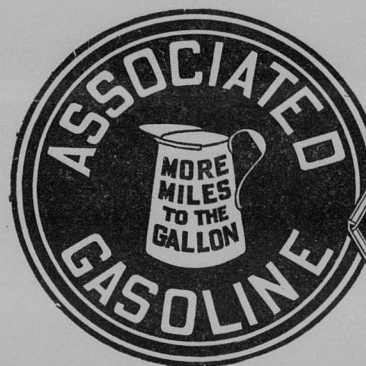
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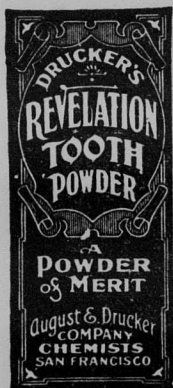
his duties; he felt that he must be constantly on guard to protect labor's interests.

During his brilliant Congressional career he remained the same John I. to his associates and to all trade-unionists. Public honors had not turned his head or warped his interests. His office was as familiar a place to the traveling molder as his desk room had been when he was secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council. He never lost touch with the men who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow. It was for them that he had always worked, and it was because of them he had maintained an active part in the trade-union movement.

He carried Congressional responsibilities with him when he went to Cincinnati to attend the meetings of our executive board. He carried intimate trade-union problems and responsibilities when he sat in the halls of Congress. The trade-union movement had for years recognized his great value; the officers of many international unions had come to depend upon him to protect their interests in Congress, and to take up with them, or for them, the many matters which required attention or adjustment in the various departments of the government.

The value of his exceptional services to the trade-union movement was officially recognized on many occasions by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and by President Gompers. The letter files of the American Federation of Labor contain many tributes to his contributions to trade-union welfare and progress. From these files

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there is reproduced a communication sent to Brother Nolan by President Gompers on July 14, 1922.

Washington, D. C., May 14, 1922.

Honorable John I. Nolan, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Nolan:

During the session of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, June 12-24, 1922, at Cincinnati, your splendid work in Congress in the interest of labor and the people was highly commended in the report of the executive council and reports of the committees which were unanimously adopted.

The undersigned was instructed to convey to you in writing the sincere appreciation of the convention, speaking for the organized wage earners of the country, for your services in Congress in behalf of labor legislation.

The executive council cited instances in which you had been of great assistance to the cause of labor.

It is indeed a pleasant duty to inform you of the unanimous action. At the same time I desire to express my personal appreciation of the many things done by you to advance the cause of labor and the people. There never has been a time when your assistance was needed, let it be any hour of the day or night, that you have not willingly given your time and ability in the interest of our great cause. Although there were times when you were ill, it did not prevent you from leaving a sick bed against physician's



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orders, to be present in the House when something of grave import to labor was under consideration.

It is the earnest wish of the delegates who attended the convention, as well as myself, that you will be spared many years of life to further the cause to which you have so nobly devoted your energies. In the name of the 4,500,000 trade-unionists I also thank you most cordially for what you have done in their interest, as well as in the interest of the great mass of the people.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Brother John I. Nolan was one of the outstanding men developed by the American trade-union movement; one of the most sincere, most devoted, most brilliant. His activities in the trade-union movement and in Congress reflected high honor to the Iron Molders' Union of North America. His life has been an inspiration to every member.

It is because of his sterling worth, his devotion to the interests of labor that the Iron Molders' Union of North America, through the unanimous action of the delegates at the Cleveland convention, decided that a fitting memorial to his memory should be erected in San Francisco, the city of his birth, the place where, as an apprentice boy, he threw all of his energy and his ability into the struggle, and dedicated his life to the welfare of his fellow toilers.

It is a privilege to contribute and to have a personal part in creating the John I. Nolan Memorial.

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Labor Day, 1926

By FRANK MORRISON, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

With another page added to the history of organized labor, the workers can look forward with enthusiasm and hope.

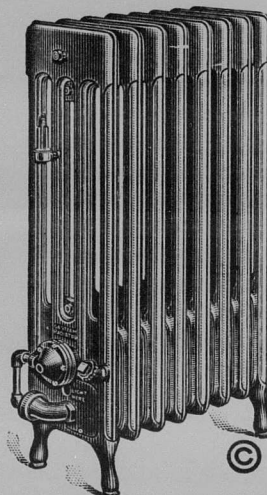
Year by year our movement records that slow, substantial progress that is based on an intelligence of the workers and a public opinion that is accepting our purposes for a fuller and larger life.

During the past year our movement has made substantial gains. Wages were increased, hours reduced, working conditions improved and the general social and economic advance that marks the history of the American Federation of Labor has been maintained.

Neither has the past year been an exception to previous years in the securement of spiritual values that are inseparable from man's development. These values include a higher intelligence, a stronger determination, a greater capacity and a consciousness of social worth.

These equip wage workers for various duties every believer in a democracy must perform. Wage workers are equipped to join with fellow citizens in other walks of life in a solution of new social problems.

Organized labor has changed the tide of events for wage workers. The trade unions have implanted a discontent in



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the breasts of laborers and have urged that the ideals of that discontent can only be realized through organization and education.

The trade unions have been unceasing in their plea that progress is only possible through a slow intellectual development that collectively increases the workers' intellectual capacity and trains them for enlarged civic and industrial duties and responsibilities, while their living standards are ever increased.

The trade unions accept the charge that they are a "step-at-a-time" movement. This is the law of social development, as against the proposal of "short cuts" that invariably bring bitter disillusion to those who accept the alluring doctrine.

Our trade unions are not narrow. Within the American Federation of Labor are found men and women wage workers of every race, creed, nationality and political view. The only test is: "Do you work for wages?"

Our unions are born of the necessities of wage workers. There is no attempt to standardize any view other than that those who work for wages must unite to increase living standards, decrease hours and improve working conditions.

From this economic base comes all other progress that develops as the wage workers develop.

The value of high wages, that business men and publicists generally accept, is the most recent illustration of the organized workers' power of agitation. From its inception, the American Federation of Labor has insisted that high wages create markets and increase living standards. This theory has often been engulfed in the demand for low wages and the

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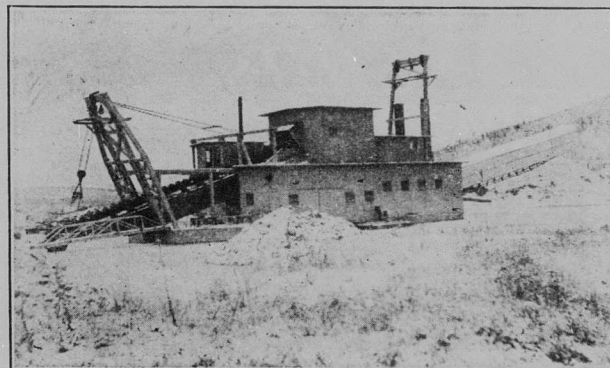
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philosophy of economists who defended that doctrine. The present public attitude, that is being indorsed by European students of economic conditions, is the best proof that again labor's position is correct.

New times bring new problems, and the present is no exception to an age-long rule. While opinions may differ as to the importance of present-day problems, I submit these three:

On the industrial field, the company "union." These employer-controlled institutions would assume the form, but not the spirit, of the trade unions. They are paternal in intent and deny an independence and vigor that marks the legitimate trade unions.

On the political field, a growing disbelief in the value of our law-making branch of government. This sentiment is encouraged by those who favor the Mussolini idea. They consider the people's representatives as a barrier to their will, and at every opportunity they attempt to bring Congress into popular contempt.

On the judicial field, the injunction judge. The practice of issuing orders, unsupported by law, in times of industrial disputes, is an evil that strikes at our system of government, just as do those secret adherents of the dictator theory.

The workers are not discouraged by these and other problems. They realize that life is a battle, that every gain is another step on the long road to greater freedom, to the day when men shall brothers be—"for a' that and a' that."

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The stranger in any part of any of these cities first meets one of the small groups of uniformed men and women on the street corner, where thousands of non-church going people hear the highest standards of morals, social principles and patriotism taught and a soul-saving gospel proclaimed.

Then this same spirit of patriotism, social service and the spiritual life is extended in service to a score of meeting halls daily and nightly, to a score of emergency relief centers, five or more employment agencies, three or more anti-suicide bureaus, one prison relief bureau, one Home and Maternity Hospital for broken womanhood, one lost and missing friends' bureau, one consulting bureau for girls in need of advice, three Industrial Homes for men incapacitated through old age, infirmity and sickness, one industrial farm for boys and girls in need of care, with a regular public school attached, one Training College, where young men and women are trained for the various activities of the Army, also one Young Women's Boarding Home for girls separated from home ties and working on low salaries.

The outstanding feature of the Salvation Army service is that it finds a field all its own and duplicates the work and methods of no other organization; it ministers to a class not connected with any church and it asks for no endorsement on any applicant save that he or she is in need; creed and nationality are not considered when giving counsel, service and relief.

All branches of Army work are carried on in San Francisco regularly and constantly in the American, Scandinavian, Japanese and Chinese languages.

Here in San Francisco are also located the Territorial Headquarters of the Western Territory, from which all Army activities throughout eleven states and the Hawaiian Islands are planned and directed, from which also the several publications are issued, and uniforms are made.

The excellent work accomplished by the Salvation Army in the bay cities is attested by Mayor Jas. Rolph, Jr., the Hon. John L. McNab, Mr. L. M. Voorsanger and other reliable business men. Also the State Board of Corrections and Charities, the State Board of Control, the Social Workers' Alliance, the Council of Social and Health Agencies, and the San Francisco Community Chest.

The activities of the Salvation Army are planned, organized and directed by men and women of mature years and experience. A recognized firm of auditors regularly audit the accounts and prepare a yearly financial statement to the public.

Any information regarding the work of the Army can be obtained from Lieut.-Commissioner Gifford's office, at 36 McAllister Street, San Francisco.

Higher Education for Workers

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, Field Secretary, Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.

The old, old hunger of mankind for life more abundant is manifest today in the general demand for "workers' education." With the growing intelligence, strength, and power of the organized labor movement, the hunger of the masses for intellectual and spiritual life becomes more keen and insistent of satisfaction.

The development of social science holds out the same hope of the mastery of the means of life to the workers, that the development of natural sciences held out to the new-rich capitalist class a century ago. Physical science promised, and fulfilled the promise, to turn dirt into gold for the capitalist class; social science promises to turn poverty, injustice, and war into plenty, social justice, and peace for the workers.

With faith in that promise leading the way, the workers are demanding that higher education shall be placed within their reach. If it is to the college and the university that young men and women must go for the opportunity to master the science that shall free them, then the workers demand that doors of the institutions of higher learning be opened to them. If the knowledge that is locked up in higher education is the key that will open the door to social well-being for the masses, then the workers demand that key for their children.

For several decades the children of the workers have

trod that heart-breaking path to higher education that the new-rich industrial class trod a century ago. An ever-increasing number of young men and women from the working class have flocked to our colleges and universities, often at the cost of terrible sacrifice and privation. The cost of living and tuition, which means nothing to the children of the rich, is a crushing burden both to working-class parents and students. All the work and play of college life is arranged for those who have the money to pay the price, and the students who tried to work their way found obstacles at every turn. The icy wall of social exclusion shut them out from the real college life, and no amount of intellect, character, or spiritual worth could break down the barriers for them, any more than money could break them down for the children of the new-rich in the old college.

And the things the workers wanted to study were not for the most part there for them. The courses offered were foreign to their lives and ideals, and left them unsatisfied. True, here and there unusual men and women from the working class have forced their way through the obstacles, but for the most part in so doing they have lost their working class ideals and become servants of the ruling class rather than leaders of the workers.

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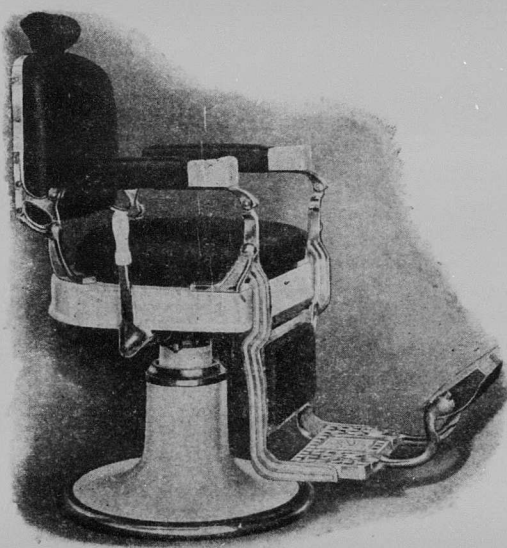
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From the time that the children of the workers began to invade the institutions of higher learning, and the social sciences started taking organized form, there has been endless warfare between the culture of the capitalist class and the culture of the producing class struggling for expression. The children of the workers, whether they entered as students or stayed as instructors, had a code of ethics of their own, the code of the working class. They had inherited a deep reverence for true knowledge, their working-class background gave them a sense of fellowship, a desire to serve, and the conviction that to labor belongs the fruits of toil. Quite naturally when the instructors began to come from the soil, and the students from the producing classes turned more and more to the social sciences, the war of the classes began to rage in the colleges.

And the war still rages. On the one side is vested interest fighting to hold its grip on the educational institutions in order that the capitalist class may impose its ideals of culture on the growing generations, and on the other the rapidly awakening working class fighting to shape the development of the coming generations in accordance with its own ideals of life.

Almost universally, and more or less clearly, the workers are realizing that higher education makes possible the application of the laws of life which make for man's improvement, and, with his improvement, a generally higher type of life. If the college and the university, with the equipment which modern science provides, are able to produce greater strength of mind and body, thereby improving the common life and



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adding to its efficiency and joy, then the workers demand that they shall not be shut out from them.

The only confusion in the minds of the workers now is whether we shall fight for the opportunity to invade and conquer existing institutions of higher learning, or shall create and maintain institutions of our own. When the working class considers the possibility of invading and conquering the colleges and universities, it should lose sight of the fact that we have been criminally negligent in ignoring the whole machinery of education. We have permitted the control of the public schools, which are of working-class origin, filled with workers' children and staffed by working-class teachers, to slip from our control; and we must regain it and master our public schools before we can hope to conquer the institutions of higher learning.

And it is most doubtful if we really want to bring existing institutions of higher learning under our control. They are too much laden with things that are not a part of our culture, and not in harmony with our lives. Just as the new-rich capitalist class was forced to build its own institutions, so, not doubt, will the working class be compelled to do the same—and for the same reasons.

If we are to have working class colleges for the development of working class ideals and culture, we must build them from the ground up; build slowly, painstakingly, and by experimental methods. We do not, and cannot know, as yet, how much of the old culture we wish to retain, and how much of the new we must evolve. The labor movements must establish colleges, call forth the best that they can give, and test methods until the right ones are found. The in-

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stitutions of higher learning for the masses must be born of the mass-mind and be the expression of the mass-ideals. They must be born in travail, struggle through a dangerous infancy, and fight for their slow and natural development.

And it is very doubtful if this natural development can come by way of invading existing institutions. From the grotesque, mongrel architecture of most of them, to the intangible, but all-important thing we call the "spirit of the institution" almost everything connected with our existing colleges and universities is alien to and inharmonious with the ideals of the working class, and they offer a most unsatisfactory medium for the development of working-class culture. We can build institutions that satisfy our hunger for beauty and truth for less than we could maintain those already in existence—so why wrangle with the capitalist class over them?

And it is perfectly feasible for us of the labor movement to finance working-class institutions of higher learning, as fast as it is practical to build them, without selling our souls to politicians or being pauperized by charity. The buildings and equipment for working-class colleges must be simple and inexpensive until we have found ourselves and know how to erect colleges that are really beautiful and expressive of our culture and ideals. In the beginning it will only be necessary for the workers to develop schools specializing in the social sciences. The technical training schools and the physical science courses in state universities do serve, in a measure, their fields. It is only where social sciences intrude that existing institutions are worse than useless.

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more than five millions of organized producers in the labor unions, farmers' organizations, and the co-operative groups. One dollar a year from each member for higher education for the workers would mean no individual sacrifice whatever, and this sum would finance every working-class college that can be built during the next ten years. There is not one organized worker in a thousand who would object in the least to paying one dollar per year for workers' education if the colleges were ready to function.

The teaching forces for such colleges are ready and trained and waiting for their work. G. Stanley Hall, former president of Clark University, told a group of college presidents attending a meeting of the National Educational Association that "the business world has no place for the highest products of our choicest schools." And it is equally true of existing educational institutions. The ablest scholars and the soundest scientists are being rapidly weeded out of our colleges because they cannot ignore the science of human relations in their teaching. The educational world is full of trained educators eager to work for a street-sweeper's pay, if necessary, if only they can have freedom to do their scientific research work in their own way, and teach the truth as they see it.

Working-class colleges are not some far off dream of the future; they can be developed now. The creation of working-class colleges does not demand supermen; it merely demands intelligent, purposeful co-ordination of the efforts of a large number of common, everyday sort of men and women who have formulated ideals of working-class culture and are determined to impress them on coming generations.

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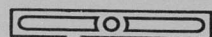
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For working-class institutions of higher education to really serve the masses, and to be the true expression of our culture, they must be hives of industry as well as halls of learning. Not only is it necessary for working-class colleges to provide means of productive labor in order that the students may earn their living while attending school but also in order that they may be made to realize that true culture and productive labor are not inharmonious. The ever-recurring tragedy of today is that of the working-class youth who seeks his education in existing institutions where he is educated out of, and away from, the producing class and becomes ambitious only to become a parasite on it. He is taught to despise his origin, to be ashamed of his working-class parents, to sneer at the union that gave his father wages enough to send him to school, to betray his class, and to feel that culture is only possible for the shirker who evades his share of useful service.

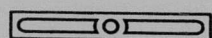
The working-class college will need, and will find, the very highest type of men and women who can be the living expression of the true new working-class culture; teachers who can work as well as talk, who can not only spin theories about life but can live fully and completely; teachers with dynamic power to inspire students with the ideal of the joy of creative effort, and service to the masses for dividends in wholesome satisfaction for the normal egoistic urge.

The great labor movements of this country need trained men and women and need them now. It is suicidal for the working class to be bled white of the very choicest of its youth, either by chaining them to ignorance or by losing their services in permitting them to be educated away from its ideals. On the farms and in the industries there are tens of thousands of young men and women hungry for access to education, eager to learn how to make social sciences serve them as physical sciences have served "predatory wealth."

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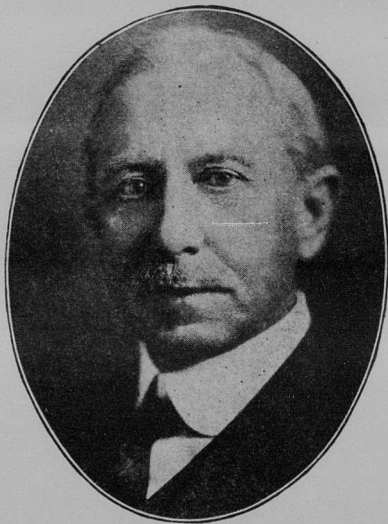
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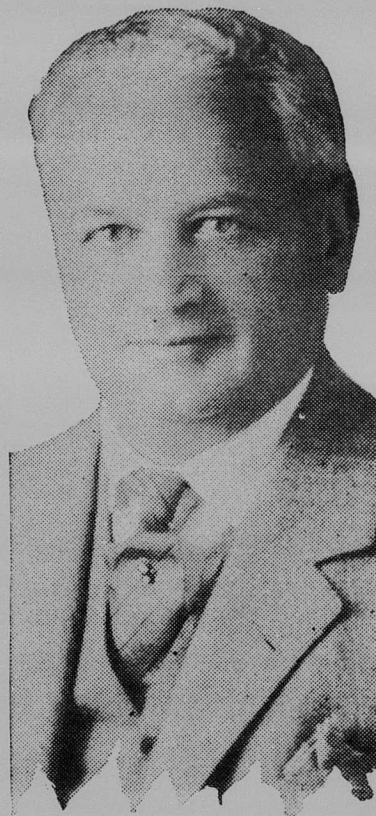
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Is It Poor Manufacturing to Cut Wages?

By WILLIAM R. BASSET, Chairman of the Board, Miller, Franklin, Basset & Co.
(In Advertising and Selling)

When an unskillful employer finds it "necessary" to reduce wages, it is customary to accompany the announcement of his incompetency with an insult to the intelligence of his workers in the form of a sermon on the text that "the interests of labor and capital are identical."

Fundamentally he is right. But his workers know that in the immediate case there is about the same community of interests as exists between the bull fighter and the bull.

Such sermons stress the theme that the workers can prosper only as the business prospers. The business, it is pointed out, can prosper only if it is allowed to reduce wages. Therefore the lower the wages, the greater the prosperity of the workers!

That is the usual point of view on the relationship between capital and labor. But occasionally you will find a business man who sees that if there is actually anything to this community of interests theory, it works both ways—that only as the workers prosper can business prosper.

* * *

Unfortunately few on either side really believe in the soundness of the economic truth that their interests are identical. No matter what is preached, they both believe that

their interests are antagonistic. The employer wants as much work as he can get for as low wages as possible. The aim of the workers is naturally just the reverse. In recent years the workers have had somewhat the better of the contest. They have made gains, and in many instances have held them. That is the chief reason for the sustained prosperity of the United States. Our large expenditures for wages provide purchasing power which stimulates the production of our factories.

Many hard-headed business men who once fought wage advances have been able to reduce costs in the face of advancing wages because they were intelligent as well as hard-headed. Instead of failing, their businesses are more profitable than ever before. A dawning of common sense on the labor question, together with a growing grasp of certain simple economic truths, is gradually illuminating all but the most benightedly conservative of our industries. Some day even those who sermonize on capital and labor's identity of interest may believe their own sermons.

I have found that the man with the ability to make high wages is always the man who produces at the lowest cost. It does not follow that merely to pay a man more than he is

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worth will automatically make him worth what he gets. The incompetent and the lazy should be fired if they resist efforts to teach and stimulate them. The man who will not exert himself to hold a well-paid job is a mental defective who has no place in industry.

About the surest way to get inefficient service from workmen is to cut wages in the attempt to lower costs. On the other hand, to demand and secure production commensurate with high wages is equally certain to result in lowered costs.

Sweeping wage cuts never brought permanent good to anyone. First, they invariably bring lower labor efficiency. Through resentment the workers at once restrict production. Many times have I seen labor costs rise in answer to a cut in wages. Secondly, lower wages have an immediate effect on the prosperity of all industry.

In industrial towns, such as the shoe-making or textile communities, this is strikingly shown. Within a week after a wage cut the merchants feel the falling off in purchasing power. Salesmen who sell to these merchants send home reports of poor trade instead of orders. Factories a thousand miles away making breakfast food, or hats, or soap, notice the falling off in trade and, if the wage cuts are widespread, either cut wages themselves or go on part time. Their workers are then unable to buy as many shoes or calico dresses as before, and the mills which first cut wages are worse off than before. The end may be a general business depression affecting all industries. All depressions are precipitated by a falling off in buying power caused either by wage reductions or by the failure of wages to keep pace with increased prices.

This is all very elementary. The trouble is that too few

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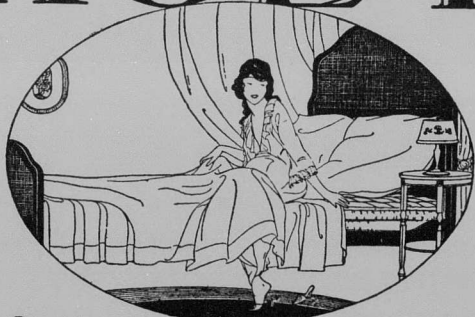
business men are able or inclined to think the matter through. It takes men of vision and high intelligence to realize that such a complicated relationship between wages and sales, inextricably entangled and interwoven across three thousand miles of continent, can have any real effect upon their own business. But any wage cut or increase does have a greater or less effect upon every other business, and in a surprisingly short time.

Those industries which have best learned how to pay high wages, while at the same time getting low labor costs per unit of output, are the ones which are most prosperous year in and year out, and which hardly know that there is such a thing as labor trouble. On the other hand, consider the various branches of the textile industry, coal mining and a few others. The workers are under-paid according to American standards. Periodically the front pages of the newspapers contain stories of strikes with more or less bloodshed, while on the financial pages we are regaled with unsatisfactory earning statements of the companies against which the strikes are aimed. How long is it since you heard of a strike in any of the Ford plants?

I do not believe that there is a business which cannot pay progressively higher wages and at the same time reduce costs. Great improvements have been made and are still being made by those who are trying to find better methods. We have not, and never will, reach an absolute limit to the possibility of increasing production. Invention and common sense working together will turn the trick in the future as it has in the past.

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can prosper. For that reason I am wholly opposed to basing wages upon the cost of living. In times of great emergency wages in certain trades which enjoy a monopoly of essential skill rise far out of proportion. When the emergency ends, such wages fall. The law of supply and demand sees to that automatically.

But there is no law—human, economic, natural or divine—which says that any worker is entitled to only so much of the world's goods yesterday, tomorrow and a hundred years hence. Yet that, in effect, is what basing wages on the cost of living implies. When based on the theory of "a living wage," the most-of-living basis is not only inhuman and insulting to the worker, but unsound, for if it were generally accepted, it would preclude the possibility of greater prosperity for capital.

Had the sale of goods only kept pace with the growth of our population, the prosperity of this country would be far from notable. It is because all of us have steadily been able to buy and consume more and more things that we are prosperous. Our per capita consumption of everything grows year by year. That makes prosperity. As this buying power continues to increase, per capita, we shall continue to prosper. When it stops, look for a depression. The idea that certain classes of people are entitled to only a certain amount of the necessities, to say nothing of the comforts of life, is deeply rooted in a lot of employers. That attitude was expressed by a benign, kind-faced old gentleman who, I happened to know, was notable for his philanthropic work in a number of fields.

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San Francisco, California

A member of my organization, who was doing some work in his plant, had been impressed with the production achieved by the operator of one of a group of machines. The men were on piece work and all but this man made fair but not spectacular earnings. He made on the average about a hundred dollars a week.

One day he was missing from the job. We asked about him.

"Oh," said the old gentleman, "he quit when I had his piece-work rate cut. Why, he was making a hundred dollars a week! No workman is worth that much. That is the price of an executive. It's wrong for a workman to make such big money."

"But that man," I objected, "turned out so much production that he cost you less per unit of output than his fellows on the same job who earned half as much. He was worth every cent of what he made. He was one of your best investments."

But it was useless to argue. That man was convinced that while it was all right for a not particularly efficient member of the managing class to make a hundred dollars a week, it was somehow or other scandalous for a highly efficient member of the working class to make as much.

When high wages cannot be paid, it is nine times in ten the fault of the management. I have never seen a concern so efficient that it held no possibilities for reducing costs while still paying high wages. The trouble usually is that the management is either too self satisfied or too sluggish to put forth the effort to find better methods.

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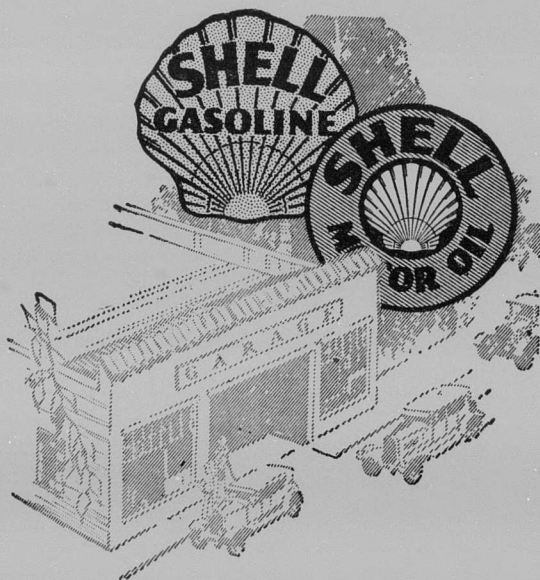
TUBERCULOSIS IN TEXTILE MILLS

Appalling Rate Found in Workers' Health Bureau Investigation

Tuberculosis is a menace in the textile industry, taking its greatest toll among the youth and those in the best years of life. This is the conclusion of a preliminary report on 404 medical examinations of textile workers recently made by the Workers' Health Bureau of America. Out of every 100 workers, six were found to have tuberculosis. Compelled to work unbearably long hours at wages that rule out any possibility of a decent standard of living, driven to the point of exhaustion so that even the lunch hour must be used for sleep, employed in workrooms that are laden with lint and dust, exposed to heat, dampness, unsanitary conditions and nerve racking noises from machinery, the textile workers of Passaic, N. J., show the effect of this industrial exploitation.

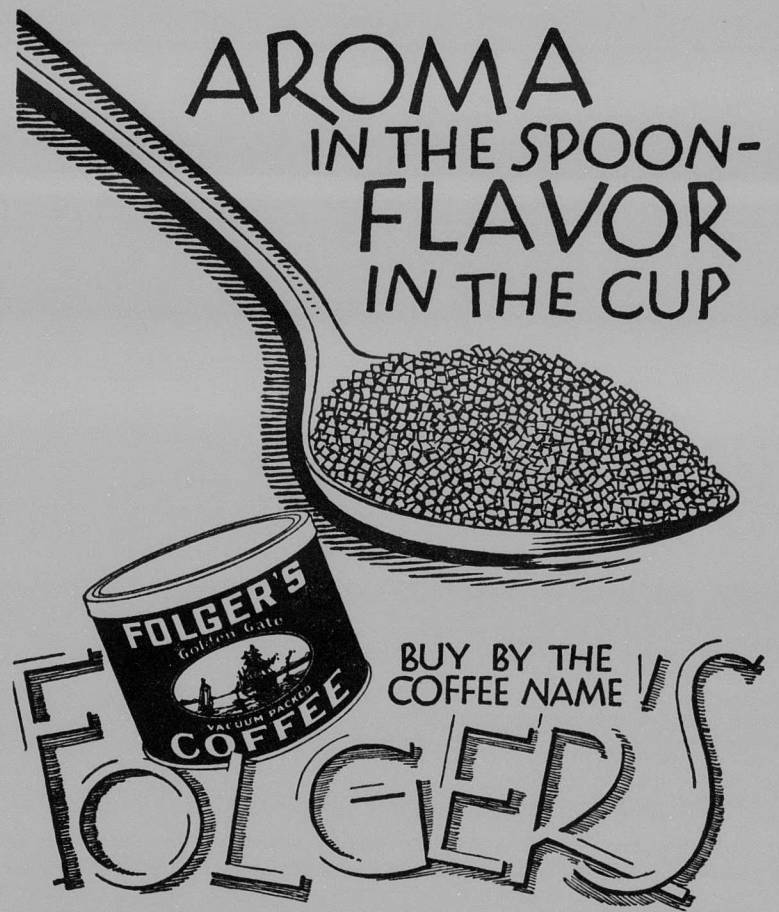
Although the textile industry is not by any means as dangerous as other trades known to have a high rate of tuberculosis, yet we find that among textile workers in Passaic, tuberculosis is twelve times higher than for 16,000 policy holders examined by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; six times greater than among 50,000 garment workers; five times the rate for printers, and three times the rate among furriers.

Twenty-eight per cent of the tubercular cases were found among the youngest workers—14 to 18 years of age. Here is what happens when a girl of 14 is forced into the mills: No. 37—14 pounds underweight, anemic, employed for one



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year sweeping dusty floors and cleaning bobbins from 8 to 5 every day, averaging \$7.45 to \$11 a week wages . . . stands constantly, breathing dust in a room "where windows are never opened because the ends of the wool will break." Result: Incipient tuberculosis. She and her brother are the sole support of a family of six. Her brother works irregularly. When he is out of work, this child's earnings must take care of the family. Robbed of her childhood, denied education, mill conditions—strain, fatigue, dust, continuous standing and starvation wages—have placed this girl in the ranks of the tubercular, adding to the burden of poverty the handicap of disease.

NEED FOR WORKERS' HEALTH BUREAU STUDY

No study of the effect of textile conditions on the health of workers has ever been made in this country. The Workers' Health Bureau therefore believed the medical examinations of several hundred textile workers would prove of great importance. The united front committee of textile workers of Passaic and vicinity, co-operating with the bureau, sent for examination anyone who was willing to come—men, women and children. These workers were doing strike duty and before that had been working steadily in the mills. They did not know that they had any disease. The utmost care was taken in making the medical examinations. Laboratory tests of the blood and urine were made in every instance and X-ray examinations wherever necessary. The facts brought out by the medical examinations have a vital meaning not only to the strikers of Passaic but to textile workers throughout the country who face similar conditions.

Among the 404 workers examined tuberculosis is the

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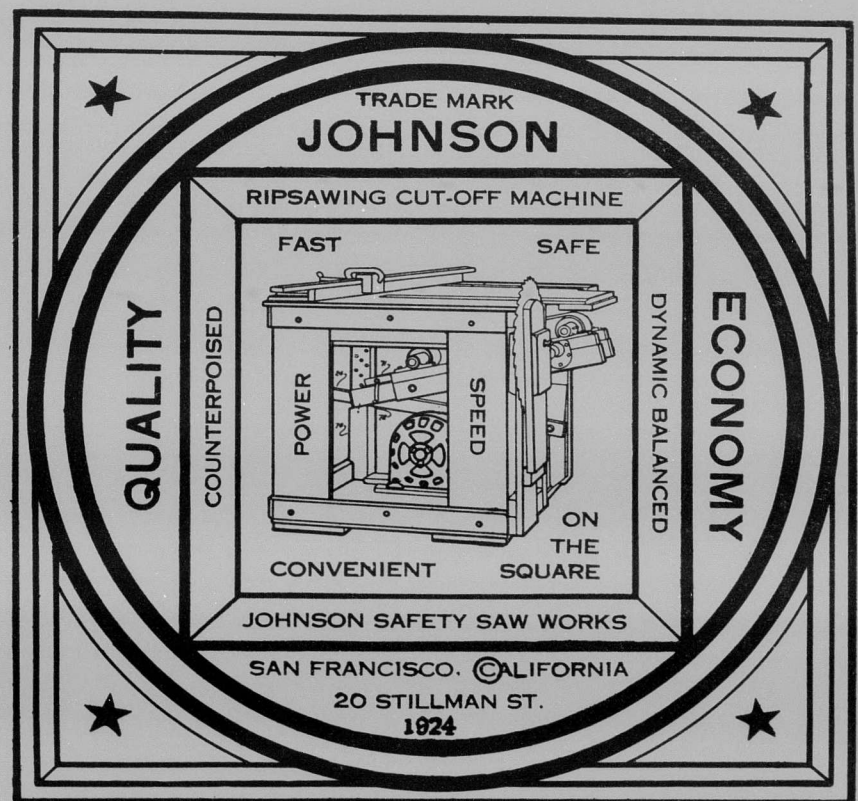
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outstanding disease. There were 25 cases of positive tuberculosis, 20 additional cases showed suspicious signs and 33 separate cases of bronchitis, pleurisy or asthma, making a total of 78 workers with chest disturbances. Since it is often impossible to know after one examination whether or not tuberculosis is present, the 20 cases which show suspicious signs and the 33 with other symptoms must be kept under observation for some time to be absolutely certain whether or not they are tubercular. Among the doubtful cases, however, there are enough signs to justify the belief that a large number of these workers will also be found suffering from tuberculosis.

The Workers Health Bureau's study has brought out in a striking way the fact that two years of work in the mills are enough to break down the health of workers. Among the 25 active cases of tuberculosis, 74 per cent of the workers have been in the employ of the textile mills for two years or more; 85 per cent of the suspicious cases have been in the industry the same length of time, while 93 per cent of those suffering from other chest disturbances have also been in the trade two years or longer.

SOME TYPICAL CASES

Unable to work, requiring immediate hospital or sanatorium care, these workers are now in urgent need of relief. No. 386 is a typical case. A widow 43 years old, mother of 5 children—4 living—textile weaver for 18 years, employed in Passaic 4 years, averaging from \$9 to \$16 a week for 53 hours' work . . . tends 700 spools, stands continuously with one foot on the machine. One of her children (No. 329), a

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boy of 16, also works in the mill 44 hours a week, earning from \$6 to \$9. He, too, has succumbed to pulmonary tuberculosis after working a year and a half in a steam-filled room, running errands, exposed to sudden sharp changes of temperature from heat to the out-of-doors. Is it any wonder that mother and son, whose joint earnings average \$20 a week for 97 hours of exhausting labor, are both victims of this devastating disease? Both bread winners need sanatorium care.

No. 359. Worker, 42 years old—6 years in the finishing department—father of 8 children, only 3 living; emaciated, one lung completely diseased, condition so serious that hospital care had to be provided; working standing 10 hours a day, breathing wool dust in an unsanitary room and earned \$14 to \$20 a week. With father an invalid and the mother forced to provide for the family of five, what chance have the three children?

No. 266. A widow, 43 years old, mother of 8 children, 4 dependent on her, employed in the steam room for five years, works 48 hours a week, wages \$18 to \$20. This woman never worked until she entered the textile industry five years ago. During these five years exposure to a hot damp atmosphere, steam, clothes constantly damp and wet, breathing in wool dust, inevitably brought on tuberculosis.

What are the conditions which are destroying the lungs of textile workers? According to Prof. Rosenau of Harvard University, "The principal conditions which affect health in the textile industries are working in a dusty atmosphere which is often kept very moist and usually very warm in



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order to keep the fibre pliable and workable. . . . Workmen so exposed are more prone to contract common colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, tuberculosis and other inflammatory diseases of the respiratory tract."

Dr. Alice Hamilton, the leading occupational disease expert of America has this to say regarding the study of 404 Passaic textile strikers: "The Workers' Health Bureau report is impressive, especially the high rate of tuberculosis and suspected tuberculosis. Since textile dust is not in the dangerous class, the cause must be largely conditions of exhaustion from moisture, heat, long hours and the youth of the workers. Most significant of all are the low wages, causing privation. The women's death rate from tuberculosis, which is usually low, is strikingly high in this industry. The causes are all preventable."

There is no longer any question that tuberculosis is directly caused by harmful working conditions. In fact, trades are now graded as to whether or not they lead to tuberculosis. The textile industry need not necessarily be harmful, although some sections of the work are decidedly so. The present high rate of tuberculosis is an indictment against existing conditions and a challenge to workers to abolish these conditions through strong union organization.

The reduction of tuberculosis in eight dangerous trades in New Jersey offers striking proof of what can be done. During 1909-1918 the Prudential Life Insurance Company found a decided decrease in the number of deaths from tuberculosis among hatters, stonecutters, molders, steel workers and plumbers. These trades were able to cut down the

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death rate from 10 to 30 per cent, while in the textile industry during the same period the tuberculosis death rate did not drop but actually increased. The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is that the "high rates of tuberculosis are found uniformly in the industrial group of policyholders" and that the tuberculosis death rate among textile workers at all ages is 22 per cent for male textile workers and 35.5 per cent for female textile workers as against 14.8 per cent for the general population.

The steady sapping of strength and nervous energy under a slavish system of night work, with starvation wages as a reward for their labor and the charity scrap-heap when they are used up and no longer fit to keep pace with the machine—these are the conditions in textile mills under which children, women, mothers and whole families have been compelled to work in order to eke out a wretched existence. In America in the year 1926 the textile industry still stands in the forefront of industrial oppression; the exploiter of child labor, the bitter enemy of shorter hours, opposed to every measure that seeks to improve conditions for the workers; aggressively fighting every effort on the part of workers to form their own union even to the point of using force and violence—police clubs, fire hose, gas bombs, wholesale arrests, intimidation and frame-ups.

After 20 weeks of heroic struggle on the part of the Pas-saic strikers to form a union, the disclosure that tuberculosis is a menace to the health and lives of workers in the industry should bring to those strikers the continued and united support of organized labor throughout the country.

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By JACK POTTS

"Beware of the women. I have seen more men go broke on queens up, three queens and queen fulls than any other series of combinations in the deck."

It was the old-timer talking, and he was giving some reminiscences of America's great indoor sport.

"I well remember the biggest pot I ever captured," he continued, "and the chief fall guy was sitting behind a queen full. What did I have? I had four sixes."

"And it was a case of sweet revenge, too. Ten or twelve years previously, when I was a kid, I held a job in that town. One day the boss fired me for some trivial matter. I left the town just afterward, and had only returned a few days prior to the occurrence mentioned."

"Well, as it happened, the queen full man was my old boss. Me—I was tickled pink, not only to capture the coin—Lord knows, I needed it badly enough—but to be the beneficiary of the man who had canned me."

"All right, Dad, now you have told us of the biggest pot you ever won, suppose you tell us of the biggest one you ever lost," said a youngster who was just paying for his schooling.

"That," replied the old-timer, "is another story. I can tell you of the most unexpected one I ever dropped—and queens figured in that, too."

"I was playing with a bunch of friends one night, and was slightly loser, when I picked up four jacks. One of my friends, who had been having hard luck all night, got into the pot with me. I felt kinder sorry for him and intimated that he'd better stay out."

"That's all right," he said. "I've got a pretty good hand, too."

"The most pathetic happening I ever noted in a poker game occurred here in this town at a certain club."

"It was a fairly stiff game, and I had got off pretty good winner."

"Another fellow (whom we will call Smith) and I had tangled up several times and I had generally bested him."

"Finally the big thing came off."

"A jackpot was opened. I had three jacks, Smith had aces up."

"Sitting in the game was a nutty, harmless sort of fellow, who had no business to be in there, and who had sloughed off 'most all of his change. He had a dollar or two left and stayed for a 'sight' for his pile."

"In the draw Smith caught another ace and I caught another jack, making him an ace full and me four jacks."

"Then the fireworks started. When the smoke cleared away and the showdown came, I started to rake in all the chips, paying no attention to the nutty gentleman."

"Wait a minute," the latter drawled. "I got four queens!"

"And he had 'em. There he sat big loser, with a 'sight' for about six dollars in a pot containing at least a hundred and fifty, and holding the best hand around the board!"

"I insist, it was the most pathetic pot I ever picked up in the original contention—beware of the women."

"I haven't seen him since; maybe he committed suicide."

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By J. B. DALE, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor

Labor Day 1926 soon will be history. Each Labor Day is a mirror of the past, the present, and the future, inasmuch as it is a day set aside by the Government for Labor—organized and unorganized—to celebrate its achievements and to analyze its mistakes, and the why of the mistakes, with a warning, of course, not to make the same mistake the second time.

It also appeals to the common sense and devotion to the building up of a Trade-Union Movement which will stand the acid test of the organized, crystallized and thoroughly financed opposition.

We should throw on the canvas of our imagination for earnest contemplation a blue print which compasses the desires and hopes and aspirations of the workers of the country, whether skilled or unskilled. No matter what color his skin may be, or his religious faith may be, it is our privilege, it is our right, it is our sacred duty, to build, to protect, and to promote the health, the morals, and the economic safety of every toiler of the human race. When we fail to be broad enough in scope, high enough in purpose, and deep enough in determination to throw the life-line of organization to all workers, we weaken and undermine ourselves and assist and encourage the disintegration of our movement.

The Organized Labor Movement has cleared the hurdles

erected by the union-haters to circumvent its progress. It does one proud to survey the wonderful advancement achieved, due almost entirely to the Trade-Union Movement. Its educational machinery is the greatest thought-provoker of our time, assisting its membership to employ wholesome, constructive thought, which makes for the betterment of mankind, for "as a man thinketh, so is he."

The Trade-Union Movement is one of the greatest—if not the greatest—human constructive institutions in the world. It is really and truly a builder. We build skyscrapers, we build canals, we build submarines, we build battleships, we build airplanes, we build homes, we build men, we build women, we build character.

When one analyzes the opposition to Labor—the flimsy, unrighteous and altogether unfair arguments lodged against our movement—it tests one's patience to deal with the arguments without becoming disgusted. In other words, it requires patience and forbearance to make allowances for the unreasonable arguments advanced against the movement.

For instance, the enemies of Unionism decry and use every unfair tactic to prevent the worker from consummating an organization, while they, themselves, are completely organized.

Mobilization is an army term for organization. In 1917, when President Wilson and the Congress decided that the

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United States should enter the World War, "to make the world safe for democracy," they began to mobilize men—in other words, they began to organize an army. They organized the youth of our country; they organized his eyesight; they organized his agility to vault into the saddle on a horse; to spring into a ditch and out of a ditch; they organized his nerves; they organized the air; they organized the waters and the waters under the sea; they organized the eloquence of the preachers; the voices of our sweet singers; the prayers of the mothers; they organized the brains of the chemists; they organized the bread in the larder, the butter on the table, the sugar in the sugar bowl—yea, they organized every conceivable thing, and they organized it for what? This wonderful organization was perfected for one specific purpose—to kill.

Come with me into the insane asylums, into the hospitals, into the highways, and byways of life, and see many wretched human beings who once were splendid specimens of manhood, but who now are mental and physical wrecks, with their empty pants legs, empty coat sleeves, fingerless hands, and sightless eyes, and compare that organization with the wonderful organization of LABOR—the BUILDER—the architect that is endeavoring to weave into the warp and woof of the human family God's eternal plan of making men honest, women virtuous, and children healthy.

If it be right to organize men to kill, it is thrice right to organize men to live, hence the justification of the Trade-Union Movement.

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industry, the great financiers of our country, of whom magazine articles are written, and to whom lecturers point, and teachers impress upon the minds of their pupils the value of emulating those men, who build soulless corporations for the purpose of serving or ministering to the wants of man.

The greatest industry in this world is the human industry, the industry which has created the captains of industry, and the human industry is the industry that the Trade-Union Movement was born to serve, and is serving, inasmuch as it is decreasing the hours of all who toil and increasing their earnings, which means an extension of life, better health, better citizenship, better homes, higher and nobler ideals—in fact, a more complete life. An institution which can show the record of the consummation of such lofty ideals and well-worked-out plans has a right to be classed as a benefactor of all mankind.

While I have dwelt largely upon the idealistic side of the Trade-Union Movement, it also has a cold-blooded, business side which should not be, and cannot be, left out of the summing up of its value to humanity. The Labor Movement is a business institution; its representatives are trained to sell Trade Unionism to the unorganized man and woman.

Many non-unionists echo the argument of the boss—that it is a useless expenditure of money to pay dues into a trade union. As a matter of fact, the non-union man pays from \$1 to \$5 a day for the privilege of NOT belonging to a union of his craft. For example, in the city of Marysville,

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California, where the building trades are thoroughly organized, the carpenters receive \$9 a day and work a 44-hour week. In the city of Oroville, 29 miles from Marysville, where the building trades are only partially organized, the carpenters receive \$7 a day; in Chico, a town 50 miles from Marysville, where the Diamond match factory has full swing, with its union-hating and union-"busting" program, carpenters work for as low as \$5 a day.

That should be a sufficient argument to convince the unorganized mechanic that there is no institution in the Nation which pays in dollars and in cents so well as the Trade-Union Movement pays to the men and women that carry paid-up cards in the unions of their respective crafts.

It also is a cash-register argument to the business men of the community, inasmuch as the \$9 carpenter in Marysville has \$2 a day more to spend than the \$7 a day carpenter in Oroville, and \$4 a day more than the \$5 a day man in Chico. This much for the purchasing power of the well-paid mechanic over the semi-paid and poorly-paid mechanic. I am speaking now of the organized artisans of the country. In a number of cities carpenters, as I have taken them for an example, are receiving \$12 a day and working a 44-hour week.

It does not require a college training for one to understand the far-reaching and beneficial effects upon the community from a business angle that this system of organization reflects in the well-kept homes and in the lives of the citizenry of those communities.

This is the Jacob's Ladder of Labor. As Jacob in his vision beheld the ladder leading from earth to heaven, the

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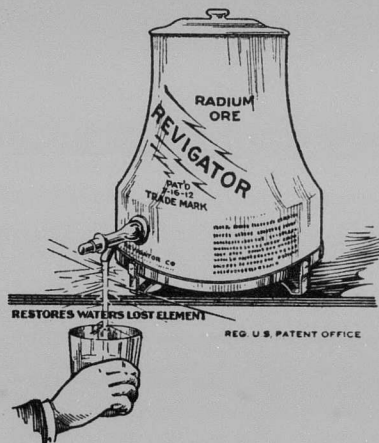
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architects of Labor—I mean Organized Labor—have visioned a ladder leading from the 12-hour day to the 8-hour day; from the poorly-ventilated to the well-ventilated workshop; from the poorly-paid to the well-paid worker—in short, from slum and sweatshop conditions to a well-paid worker and a scientifically ventilated factory.

The architects alluded to have drawn a plan for the worker to work out his own salvation—namely, THINK, TALK, WORK for an eight-hour day, for a saving wage, for a sanitary workshop; to take the child out of the sweatshop, the wife and mother out of the factory, place the former in the school and on the playground, and the mother and wife in the home, and the father and husband at work which is congenial and will stimulate best that is in him. These are the rungs in the Jacob's Ladder of Labor.

To establish these conditions and make this ladder the fire-escape (if I may use that term) from the hell of overwork and underpay, of the stunting of children, the debasing of women, and the stultifying of men, it is necessary that trade unionists THINK, TALK, and WORK, for, as Paul said: "Faith without words is dead." We must have faith in our union; we must work for our union with ardor and zeal, which will convince the luke-warm we are in earnest in this work; we must demonstrate the fact that to us the Labor Movement is a religion, and that it assists men and women to live—they need no assistance to die.



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By FRANCES H. DOWNING

"There is no more important concern than to safeguard the freedom of labor, upon which alone can enduring prosperity be based," said Judge Hughes, writing the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Bailey vs. Alabama*, 219 U. S. 219, 245. An important issue now before the world is whether the natives of certain areas of Europe, Asia and Africa, where forms of slavery exist, can be forced to work as the masters will, however such compulsion is disguised, or whether they be encouraged and helped to better themselves by the development of production without loss of freedom; and if they prefer wage labor, to insure to them the right to sell their labor in the best market, under humane conditions, so that they may benefit, and not deteriorate under the guidance of their employers.

The question of slavery—with special reference to Abyssinia—was raised in the Third Assembly of the League of Nations, 1922, by a New Zealand representative, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, now Minister for Labor in the British Government. The result was a recommendation that a report on the subject be made to the Fourth Assembly. Information secured from various governments was prepared in a document and sent to members of the League. In 1924 the Council of the League appointed a Temporary Slavery Commission with instructions "to continue tempo-

rarily the inquiry on slavery and to communicate to the Council their conclusions on this subject."

The first act of the Commission was to obtain the Council's approval of a syllabus of the matters to be considered, and of its proposal to obtain information from official reports and statements furnished by governments and also from individuals or organizations whose competence and reliability were duly established.

The commission, composed of eight experts of different



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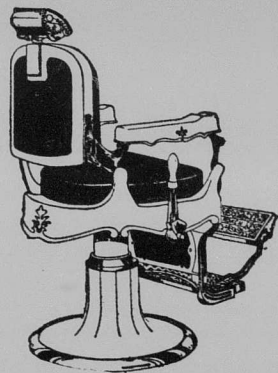
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nations, six of whom have held high offices in colonial spheres, next met in July, 1925. In addition to the reports from governments and from individuals, among which was a "Report on the Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa," by Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, statements were presented by the members expressing their personal experience and knowledge of the subject. From these a report was made to the League using each item of the syllabus as the title of a chapter, which includes a discussion of the present situation with suggestions for its improvement, and proposes that a new international convention on Slavery should be concluded. The subjects are:

1. The status and the legal status of slavery.
2. Slave raiding and similar acts.
3. Slave trade.
4. Slave dealing (including transfer by exchange, sale, gift or inheritance).
5. Practices restrictive on the liberty of the person.
6. Domestic or predial slavery (serfdom).
7. Compulsory labor, public or private, paid or unpaid.
8. Transition from servile or compulsory labor to free-wage labor or independent production.

The report shows that the status of slavery is recognized by law in Abyssinia, in certain Asiatic countries such as Thibet and Nepal, and in most Mohammedan states of the East, such as Afghanistan, the Hedjaz, and other Arabian states. However, in Abyssinia edicts have been issued which, if put into force, would enable a large number of the slaves to recover their liberty, would assure to the others



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humane treatment, and would prevent others from being enslaved in the future; and the Maharajah of Nepal has recently announced his intention of abolishing the status of slavery in his territory, which would free 53,000 slaves in the Kingdom of Nepal.

Slave-trading and slave-raiding are reported as existing at the present time in Sahara, South Morocco, South Tripoli, the Libyan Desert Oases, Rio de Oro, Senussi country, Abyssinia, Liberia, China, the Hedjaz (traffic through Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Somali Coast), and Far East to Arabia. The report also shows that the more insidious forms of slavery, such as so-called adoption, debt-slavery, and concubinage, as well as forced labor, are prevalent in a large part of the world.

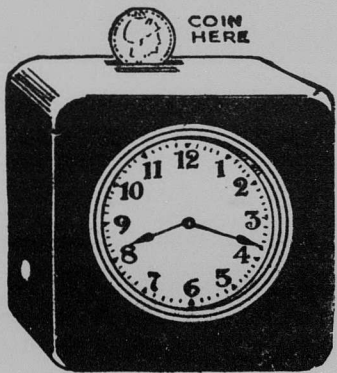
Upon presentation to the Sixth Assembly of the League in 1925, the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission was referred to the Sixth Committee. On September 8, when the committee took up the question of slavery, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, British representative, immediately submitted a draft resolution and protocol prepared by a committee of the British Government.

This draft received the consideration of the Sixth Committee, who amended it and reported it to the Assembly as a Draft Convention, although it admittedly does not fully cover the recommendations of the Slavery Commission.

The Assembly of the League then passed a resolution to recommend for approval of the Draft Convention, with a request that the Council communicate the Convention to members of the League and to the following governments:

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"(a) Forward to the Secretary General not later than June 1, 1926, any observations they may desire to make regarding the provisions of this draft;

"(b) Appoint at a later date plenipotentiaries who will meet at the time of the opening of the Seventh Assembly to re-examine, if necessary, the articles of the Draft Convention and to sign immediately the text of the Convention which has been agreed upon; and to

"(c) Make every effort to adopt at once all possible measures in conformity with the provisions of the Draft Convention in question.

"(d) Assist one another forthwith in the abolition of the slave trade, slavery and conditions analogous thereto, by all practicable conclusions of special agreements and arrangements."

The Council of the League of Nations accepted paragraphs a, b, and d of the recommendations of the Assembly, and with reference to c resolved to "postpone until its June (1926) session a decision of the question of the procedure to be adopted as regards the conclusion of the proposed Convention on Slavery," which is to be world-wide in its application, and to which all states, whether members of the League or not, are invited to subscribe.

Slavery became a matter of international concern by the condemnation of the slave trade in the Treaty of Vienna

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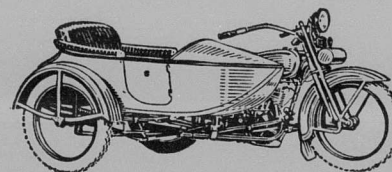
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of 1815. In a Convention dated March 13, 1824, between the United States and Great Britain, slave-trade by sea was treated as piracy. The General Act of the Conference of Berlin, 1885, which contained a declaration against slavery and the slave-trade, was not signed by the United States because it dealt with territorial questions.

The American Government signed and ratified the Treaty of Brussels in 1890, in which measures against the slave trade by sea were limited to the maritime zone on the east coast of Africa, whence native boats still carried human freight to Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

In 1919 action against the institution of slavery itself was begun, resulting in the Treaty of St. Germain. This treaty, signed by the United States and agreeing that each power "endeavor to secure the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea," has been ratified by only five powers, so that it cannot be considered a satisfactory settlement.

Investigations of recent years have revealed conditions that call urgently for more effective international agreements which would include all those sections of the earlier treaties still essential for the total abolition of slavery, as well as such additional provisions as may now appear necessary. It is proposed that the new Convention supersede all previous instruments and that it be world-wide in its application. Therefore, the standard to be set is of the utmost importance.

The Draft Convention was described by Viscount Cecil

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as being a "minimum standard" and omits many of the recommendations of the Temporary Slavery Commission. In its article covering forced labor, which may be defined as including all compulsory levies of labor or the product of labor, whether imposed by government as a tax or by chiefs in accordance with former despotic customs, Section 2 has been widely interpreted as affording sanction or recognition of the use of forced labor for private profit. Furthermore, the draft says nothing about payment. The native who is subject to forced labor (and this includes a large proportion of the population of Africa) is less enviable than the slave whose master takes an interest in his welfare, if not for humane, for economic reasons.

Since the Draft Convention was adopted by the Assembly, the international position on the subject of forced labor has changed somewhat. The governing body of the International Labor Office has decided in principle that the organization should take up the question with a view to bringing it before the International Labor Conference and, if possible, to the conclusion of an international convention. This may be the means to the most effective action, but it is essential that the Slavery Convention deal adequately with the basic principles of the subject in order to give the International Labor Office a fair start.

The Government of the United States has been invited to make observations regarding the provisions of the Draft Convention, to be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Various organizations in the United States, including the American Federation of Labor, the

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Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Federal Council of Churches, have written to President Coolidge urging that the Government respond to this invitation. It is to be hoped that these observations may clearly express (a) the interest of the United States Government and people in the proposals, (b) the opinion that important amendments to the draft Convention are desirable, and (c) the desire of the United States to co-operate with other powers in concluding this Convention.

American capital and business houses are interested in the development of Africa, and some of them have already acquired important concessions in that continent. These Americans will therefore be directly concerned with the regulation of labor in Africa.

The United States is a consumer of tropical products that come from territories governed by other powers. If the labor of the peoples in those territories is unjustly exploited, it is impossible to hold that we are not responsible any more than the receiver of stolen goods is exempt from the charge of participation with the thief. Through our trade relations, by the influence of our markets and the demands of our own development, the American people will exercise real power in the determination of the issue of slavery and forced labor. It is right, therefore, that the United States Government should share in the enactment of international agreements to abolish all forms of involuntary servitude everywhere.

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of the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and other places where it may be found that conditions analogous to slavery still exist. While not directly responsible for the Government of Liberia, the influence of the Government of the United States in that country is desirable.

It would seem, therefore, not only natural but of the greatest importance that the United States Government should co-operate to the fullest possible extent in this effort to adopt a new international Convention which (as its exponents claimed for it) "will constitute one of the greatest advances towards human freedom which have ever been made . . . and will free thousands of unhappy beings from conditions which closely resemble slavery.

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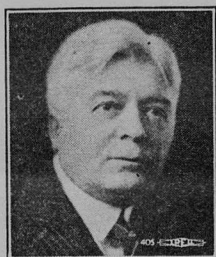
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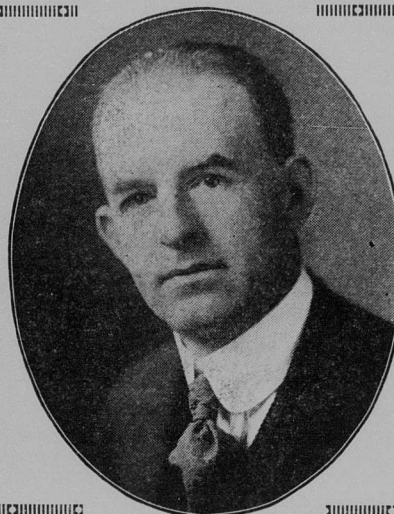
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CHILD LABOR

By WILLIAM GREEN, President American Federation of Labor

The competition in the sale of products of 2,000,000 child wage earners is a much greater menace to the adult breadwinner and manufacturers of our country than is the competition in the sale of the products of 20,000 convicts, declared William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, before the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Atlantic City.

"While employers' associations and chambers of commerce, strange to say, are fighting federal legislation which will take children out of the workshops and factories they are at the same time fighting against the sale of prison-made goods on the open market," he said.

"Where the sale of convict-made goods has been prohibited the chief reason for such action was the fact that the labor of convicts displaces the labor of the free worker. In like manner the labor of the child displaces the labor of the adult wage earner."

"It is inhuman to take a child from its mother's care, love and protection and place it by a hazardous piece of machinery to perform manual labor," he said. "It is criminal to maim and cripple these little ones. It is a sin against heaven to earn profit from the fatigue of an undeveloped, undernourished girl or boy."

President Green called attention to the fact that states that voted for the prohibition, federal income tax and women suffrage amendments voted against federal legislation to protect the lives of the children of the nation.

He ridiculed those who contended that the child labor amendment, if ratified, would prohibit a girl from helping

her mother do housework or prevent a boy from helping his father on the farm.

"The farmers of the United States have been credited with doing great harm to our cause," he said. "They have been easy victims to misrepresentation and malicious propaganda."

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The failure of some states to properly protect children was declared to be responsible for the submission of the amendment to protect child life.

"Less fortunate brothers and sisters in backward and unprogressive states are compelled to enter into competition with those in progressive states," he said. "We maintain all children are entitled to the same degree of care and protection, no matter what status, if they live under the protection of our glorious flag."

The text of the address follows:

"The labor of little children is a gruesome subject. To our minds it brings depression and we shudder when we think of a child being forced to spend its early years in the cages and within the bars of industry. Such a policy is



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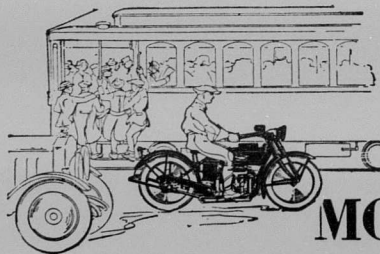
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hostile to our modern sense of fairness, and if we take notice of child labor we are, for humanity's sake, bound to denounce it and exert every power of expression in an effort to secure the help of all people in achieving our avowed purpose of ending it.

"The care and nurture of the young has always primarily rested with the mother. Because of the tenderness and the loving kindness of all women the appeal of a little child reaches their hearts when cold argument and weighty logic only finds lodgment in their minds. It is easy to speak to you whose minds are sincere and whose hearts are open to emotion, for you have sympathy and understanding. I address myself to your innermost selves and I know my words and desires will find a response which will reecho throughout all these United States.

"There are two fundamental reasons why organized labor has taken a positive, determined position against child labor. The first is the humane reason, the second is the economic reason. For centuries the years of childhood were happy for the children received the care of the mother, the blessing

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of freedom of play and action and the casual instruction in primitive hunting and tilling of the soil. There was but slight differentiation between the activities of all children for even those of the most barbaric tribes protected and cared for their young ones until they were able to care for themselves. It is to be remarked that even those races and tribes which, in earliest times, practice infanticide gave great attention and consideration to those children who were permitted to live, in order that they might grow strong and virile and be of great physical and mental service to the state.

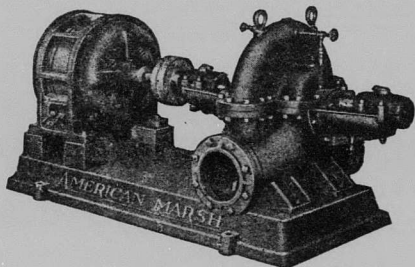
"It is the natural right of all children to be free from bodily toil and the crushing discipline of time. In childhood sleep, food, play, and education should be received. The open air, the flowers, and the trees should have their part in forming the character and bodily strength of the child. It is inhuman to take a child from its mother's care, love and protection and place it by a hazardous piece of machinery to perform manual labor. It is criminal to maim and cripple these little ones. It is a sin against heaven to earn a profit from the fatigue of an undeveloped, undernourished girl or boy. Conscious of your thorough understanding of this phase of the matter, I feel I can now devote myself to the second reason for the attitude organized labor has taken.

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wages is lowered. Immediately these detrimental influences affect the home life, the community life, and the individual life of the workers. Those who do not toil in industry are little concerned and such evil effects as are visited upon them come indirectly and are little noticed.

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"North Carolina permits an eleven-hour day and a sixty-hour week. Several large states permit children under sixteen years of age to work fifty-four hours a week and in many of these states provision is made for longer hours of toil in case the repair of broken machinery interferes with the normal course of employment.

"One of the most deplorable features of the program of long hours is the fact that thousands of children are forced to work in the night time when they should be permitted to

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sleep and repair the ravages of a long day of toil. Ugly as the comparison must seem I wish to call your attention to the fact that many states guard with greater care the welfare and physical comfort of their convicts. Most states which have convict labor only permit that labor to extend over an eight-hour period daily. While a convict is only permitted to work eight hours, a child, under sixteen years of age, is forced to work ten or twelve hours. The records show that about twenty thousand out of the eighty thousand convicts in the state penal institutions are employed in the manufacture of articles which are sold in the open market. The goods manufactured by these convicts and sold on the market are estimated to amount to \$43,000,000.00 yearly.

"The products of child labor are also sold on the open market. The manufacturers of this country whose products compete with those made by convicts are persistently demanding that laws be enacted prohibiting convicts from making goods to be placed on the market. It is strange, indeed, that these same employers' associations, chambers of commerce and employers of labor are fighting federal legislation which will take children out of the workshops and factories and simultaneously they are fighting against the introduction of prison-made goods upon the market.

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legislators of state after state betrayed their trust! Amazement, disbelief, horror visited themselves upon all groups of people who had sought for the protection of the children of the United States. Realizing the children were the future citizens of our country, knowing that in the young generation rested our hope of sound national and international policies, appreciating the necessity of education and proper training for citizenship, by precept and example, the refusal of the states to grant to the government the protection of our children was a shock and surprise to the proponents of the doctrine of child protection.

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"Five million working men and women in America, the organized wage earners of the United States, led by the American Federation of Labor, undertook the accomplishment of having enacted laws which would prevent child labor. They were joined by other large and influential groups, and when success rested upon their banner they were

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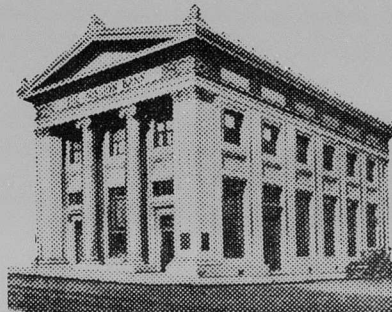
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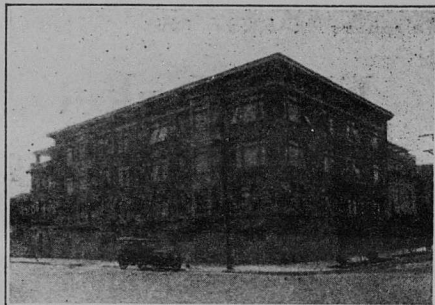
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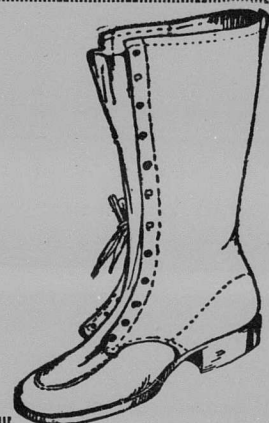
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cation of the amendment. But, to our dismay, we found our strength could not open the doors of ignorance and intolerance which were confining the children in industry. The Legislatures of many states refused to give ratification to the amendment. States which had voted 'Aye' in favor of prohibition, states which had voted 'Aye' when the federal income tax law was passed, states which had voted 'Aye' when the question of women's suffrage was presented to them voted 'Nay' when 'Nay' meant the government could not, by federal legislation, protect the lives of the children of the nation.

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"Instead we are treated to the sad exhibition of seemingly intelligent people advancing this as a reason for acting against the amendment. If such people are going to believe such misinformation then we must leave them to the error of their ways and direct our efforts toward those who have powers of comprehension and reasoning, to the moving,

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inspirational forces of our present day. The shirking of a duty by one great class of our people makes it more incumbent upon the remaining groups to share the added burden and combat the insidious forces of falsehood, misrepresentation and deceit.

"The future glory of our nation rests with its future citizenship. If we are to keep our foremost position in the group of nations, if we are to continue to lead in industrial progress, enlightened policies and civic pride, then we must not sheathe our sword until we have cut down the opponents of this humane measure and have forced them to cry 'Surrender.'

"Let me appeal to you, as ardent champions of the cause of humanity, to quicken your hearts and increase your efforts to bring about speedy ratification of this amendment. If every woman were to say to those for whom she voted, to those to whom she delegated her representation, 'I propose the health and security of the children of the United States,' if all women would band themselves into a powerful, active group, as organized labor has done, and if that group would join its forces with the forces of organized labor, in demanding the ratification of this amendment, it would be ratified.

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"If you have been unmindful of the little ones, if you have not yielded to their silent appeal, I ask you to do only this. Seek a child, your own child or the child of a friend, look into its sweet face of innocence and love and ask yourself this question, 'What would I be willing to do to prevent her from going to work in a mill?' And it is certain in your mind will come a vision of the two million children, like unto this child, who are rising at an early hour each day, and, with a bucket or bundle of cold, unpalatable lunch, going to work—to work, if you please, in competition with full grown men and women. And you will cry, 'No,' and you will call upon your representatives, one by one, instructing them, in your name, to say 'No' to those who would exact profit from a child's toil, 'No,' to those who oppose the abolition of child labor.

"And you will say to them, in clear and forceful tones, 'I want you to vote in favor of the ratification of this amendment for I am fearful lest its defeat will mean a lowering of our national supremacy, a forgetfulness of Christian duty and a depreciation of priceless human values.'"

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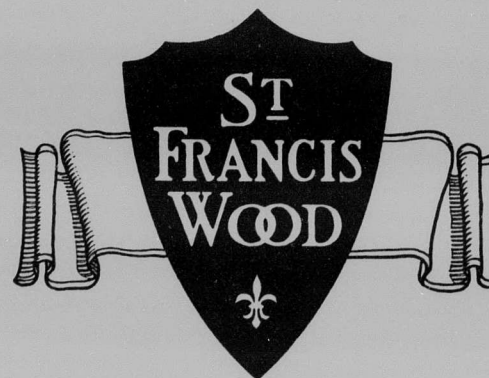
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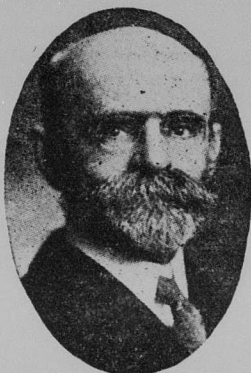
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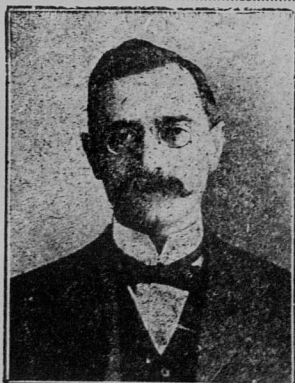


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Samuel Gompers' First Labor Day Editorial

(The following was the first editorial on Labor Day written by Samuel Gompers after Congress made the day a legal holiday, on June 28, 1894. The editorial appeared in the American Federationist of September, 1894.)

In the cycle of time we are again on the dawn of our most important national holiday—Labor Day. Most important, since it for the first time in the history of the world devotes a day to the recognition of the fact that the wage earners must hereafter be regarded as the important factor in the economy of life. In this day, when so many look upon the dark side of the progress of the labor movement and predict worse things in store for the laborer, it is not amiss to direct attention to the fact that the life of the human family is one vast struggle, and that though the progress is not as swift as we, as well as our impatient brothers and sisters of labor, would like it to be, yet the fact that in our decade we can see the rights of labor more clearly defined, the vantage ground obtained, and obtaining a clearer insight into existing wrongs, the more intelligent perception and determination to achieve labor's rights.

The past year has witnessed several contests, some of them defeats, but though defeated in the immediate object sought, they have awakened a new conscience in the American people, and will contribute more to the thorough organization of the wage workers of our country than hundreds of meetings, speeches or pamphlets. The greatest conquering armies in the history of the world have had their reverses, and the labor movement cannot expect to be an exception to that rule. Each defeat acts as a trenchant warning to the toilers of America that error must be avoided, that intelligence must prevail, and that no success can come

to them unless it is through their own efforts and their own organization, and by their persistency manifested.

Pessimism results in indifference, lethargy and impotency, and in their turn simply permits the corporations and trusts and the entire capitalist class to filch from the toiler rights which have been dearly bought.

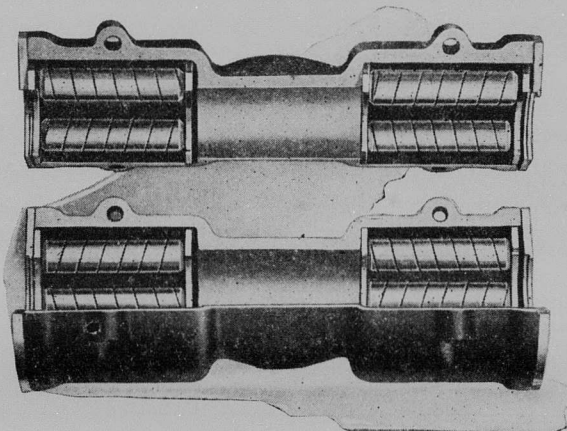
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The organizations of labor must be thorough and complete, and above all must be permanent. Those organizations which arise like a flash in the pan only go to show how arduous is the struggle before the toiler, in order to overcome the antagonism of the wealth-producing classes of our country.

Today more than ever the toilers recognize how essentially they are thrown upon their own resources; that they have few if any outside their own ranks who sympathize with them in their effort for the emancipation of mankind.

Toilers, organize. Let us carry on the good work and in a few more revolutions of the earth upon its axis we shall have a better world—a better mankind. Waiting will not accomplish it; deferring till another time will not secure it. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the standard of their unions and to organize as thoroughly, completely, and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!



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INSTINCT

This morning in my study I found a bumblebee on the inside of the window screen. After several unsuccessful attempts, I captured him in a piece of newspaper. Then, after listening to his frantic buzzing for a moment I threw him out of the open window. For a brief time he seemed bewildered, as he made tiny circles; then he made a long swing toward the south, then a half circle to the north and then the divine instinct whispered the way home, for he was off in a straight line to his home somewhere in the ground. That's interesting and indefinable. It's "instinct," psychologists say. But what is instinct? The same impulse was sending the bee home when Pharaoh built the Pyramids. Whatever it is, it's a lovely thing—a beautiful law that governs every creature in the animal kingdom, sending them all home without compass or pole star. And who knows but the soul liberated from the body will take a course by the same law straight home to God?—Ralph Richardson.

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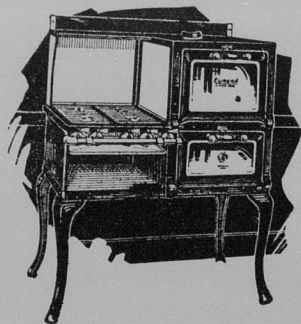
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Back from the furnace, crawls on deck to win
A cooling breath or two ere plunging down
Into his torture-house of steam.

In truth,
He earns his heaven, for, fierce hour by hour,
He knows the bitterness and bite of hell.
What more could heaven do for any soul
Than fan a burning brow with airs as bland
As those of Arcady, and soothe the eyes
With touch of winsome waters, at whose call
The seeming dead grow light and labor-strong?

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Up creaks the car; he leaves his ghastly dream
Of flickering, strange lights and caverns gloomed,
Grim fears of death-damp and the rumblings deep
Of an inferno whence the damned come back
Daily to taste of Paradise, before
The Devil bids them down; up creaks the car
Disgorging men and mud indifferently.

How sweet the lingering sun, and yonder, look,
The cabin lights are beckoning fondly, where
Warm love awaits him; for a little space
He's no machine, but human, and his God
Our God—no mud-earth Devil, but a power
Benign and near . . .
But now the nether pit
Reclaims these children of a double world,
And once again Life is a nightmare dream.

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 Their very mirth is horrible to hear,
 It is so joyless! Every needle stroke
 Knits into dainty fabrics that shall go
 Where Fashion flaunts, the protest and the pain
 Of ravaged lives, of souls denied their food.
 At last the clock-stroke! From the beetling shop
 The prisoners file, and up and down the street
 Scatter to hutches humorists call Home.
 To sin, to die, or if it may be, clutch
 Some pleasure fierce enough to drown the thought
 That on the morrow they must meet again.

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 In open, sun-kissed meadows; and each day
 Amid the monstrous murmur of the looms
 That still their treble voices, they become
 Tiny automats, mockeries of youth:
 To her that suckled them, to him whose name
 They bear, mere fellow-earners of Life's bread:
 No time for tenderness, no place for smiles—
 These be the world's wee workers, by your leave!
 Naught is more piteous underneath the sky
 Than at the scant noon hour to see them play
 Feebly, without abandon or delight
 At some poor game; so grave they seem and crushed!
 The gong! and foulness sucks them in once more.
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 Above all the clang of commerce and of mart:
 "Suffer the little children," and again
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EDUCATION

By T. W. McCULLOUGH

I am deeply interested in the subject of general education. I have in the last few years given a great deal of my time to the propagation of a law that would give federal assistance and direction, not federal control, to the general educational welfare and cultural development of the people of the United States, and I know from inquiries, from investigations, and from experience where the great opposition to the beneficial proposal—that is, to my mind it is a beneficial proposal—because it proposes that the United States shall do for the public schools just what the United States is trying to do for the highway—and I submit in all fairness and in all candor that it is just as essential that the children of the United States have an untrammelled opportunity to have an education at the public expense as it is that the automobile owner shall have a highway on which he can travel from coast to coast in comfort.

We boast of our public schools, of our magnificent institutions of learning that are supported from the general purse. But what is the fact? The selective draft developed the fact that among the men who were called upon to enter the army of the United States there were 6,800,000 illiterates. That astonished the people. Some people said, "They are all foreign born."

"No, they are not all foreign born."

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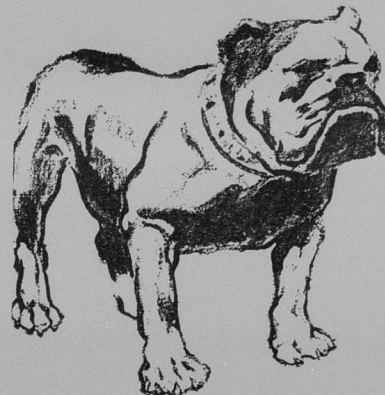


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"Then they come from the black districts of the south."

"No, they do not come from the black districts of the south."

More than one-third of that 6,800,000 illiterates were native born white Americans; over 2,700,000 native born white Americans, born and raised in the shadow of the little red schoolhouse.

It matters not how good their intent, how pure their heart, how sincere their purpose, they are undoubtedly a menace to us, because every ignorant man is a menace to an intelligent citizenship.

Complaint is made from time to time about the heavy taxes that we pay in this country, about the great cost of government, about our expenditures in all directions. I want to say that you cannot reduce the cost of government as long as you keep extending the government. The more government you have the more your government will cost you. There is only one way to reduce that, and that is to make your life such as will require less of government.

Now the first place they start upon when they begin to talk about reduction in taxes is the immense sums of money we are paying to support the public schools. A very recent compilation, and one which I think is fairly accurate because it has been widely quoted and comes from a dependable source, shows that in 1923 the American people expended of their income three-fourths of one per cent to support the church, one and one-half per cent to support the public schools, nine per cent to support crime, twenty-one per cent

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for luxuries, and fourteen per cent for waste. Nine times as much money wasted as they spent for the support of public schools; six times as much money for the support of crime and criminals as went to the support of the public schools.

If you are going to reduce your expenditures in any way I ask you to cut down your waste a little, cut down the money that goes for the expense of crime, and give a little more money to the public schools of the United States.

During the next few weeks a complete report will be issued by the Workers' Health Bureau regarding other occupational dangers in the industry. This information will be placed at the disposal of textile unions for use in bettering the conditions of the workers.

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Reserve for all other Liabilities.....	1,188,903.54
Capital	1,500,000.00
Net Surplus	5,552,501.45

Total Assets	\$16,689,381.17
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"When I was eighteen," he said, "I tried for hours before the looking glass in the spare room—that was before we had mirrors and guest chambers—to look bored. My one ambition was to be blase. I do not remember from what novel I nipped this striking life program, but I do recall that its hero was a tall, languid young man, usually intensely bored, but capable of enormous feats of energy."

The Cap'n said his mother tried to cure him of what she believed to be a physical ailment by sulphur and molasses. His father got him a job on the river. In that persuasive environment he forgot to be bored until it was too late.

"Since then," he said, "I've come to the conclusion that the person who is bored confesses to a mental incompetence. Or else some form of hookworm. A live wire is never bored. No one who has anything to do, if it is only peeling potatoes, is ever bored, unless he is unfitted for the job. The man who must be entertained is the one who has nothing inside his headpiece with which to do his own entertaining."

The Cap'n said that the author of the almost forgotten novel laid a great deal of stress upon the volcanic energy which his bored hero was able to release on occasion. This, the Cap'n said, seemed to prove something or other, but in later years he learned to doubt.

"There ain't anything," said the Cap'n, "that can turn loose as many units of power to the footpound as a rat in a bathtub. But he doesn't get anywhere."

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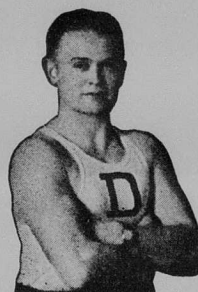
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LIBERTY

By JOHN HAY

What man is there so bold that he should say,
 "Thus, and thus only, would I have the Sea?"
 For whether lying calm and beautiful,
 Claspings in love, and throwing back
 The smile of Heaven from waves of amethyst;
 Or whether, freshened by the busy winds,
 It bears the trade and navies of the world
 To ends of use or stern activity;
 Or whether, lashed by tempests, it gives way
 To elemental fury, howls and roars
 At all its rocky barriers, in wild lust
 Of ruin drinks the blood of living things,
 And strews its wrecks o'er leagues of desolate shore—
 Always it is the Sea, and men bow down
 Before its vast and varied majesty.

So all in vain will timorous ones essay
 To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
 For freedom is its own eternal law:
 It makes its own conditions, and in storm
 Or calm alike fulfills the unerring will.
 Let us not then despise it when it lies
 Still as a sleeping lion, while a swarm
 Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;
 Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
 It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
 Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame
 Of riot and war we see its awful form
 Rise by the scaffold, where the crimson axe
 Rings down its groove the knell of shuddering kings.
 Forever in thine eyes, O Liberty,
 Shines that high light whereby the world is saved,
 And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!



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The Friend of Man

By TESSA WEBB

The poet will sing of the house by the road,
Where the friend of mankind abides;
Another will sing of lifting their load,
While walking along by their sides.
Each poet, no doubt, sees a service complete
In his own chosen angle or way;
But the Master to mankind would humbly entreat
For the service of both, I dare say.

Yes, our Master knows both the road and the home,
For the weary who plead for rest;
And those who are out on life's highway to roam,
He'll take as His humble guest.
So some one must render an aid to these men,
Through the day as they carry their load,
And give them their shelter when long nights begin,
In this home by the side of the road.

There are men who need just a word of good cheer,
And others with wounds to be healed;
There are some who have souls that are burdened
with fear,
Yet these to the world are concealed.
Let me speak a kind word to the weak ones each day,
Let me see that the hungry are fed;
For the wounded I pray for a house by the way
With a cot for their weary head.

There's a service to give in life's road-way each day,
With the crowds that go rushing by,
And I could not remain in my house by the way
And watch this in silence, not I.
But I'd go to their side, and help bear their load,
And then I would cheerfully say
"I'm glad I can walk with the men in the road,
As I live in my house by the way."

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∴ LABOR DAY STATEMENT ∴

By JOHN L. LEWIS, President, United Mine Workers of America

Once more, on this Labor Day of 1926, labor will pledge its allegiance to the fundamental principles of the Trade-union Movement in America. Loyalty to the ideals of collective bargaining, fair wages, better home life, greater opportunity for higher citizenship, the square deal, development, and progress is undiminished in the hearts of American workingmen and women. Throughout the past year all of these ideals have been assailed by those who would, if they could, destroy the workers' rights. The battle has been fierce and the sacrifice great, but labor's ranks are still holding tight against every attack. Let us all hope that the coming labor year will nurse and develop good will in industry, and that a spirit of real fellowship may take the place of distrust, misunderstanding, and bitterness.

One of the most precious gifts that the next labor year could possibly bring to industry would be a realization on the part of all that their contracts and agreements must be observed. Unfortunately, there has been a too general tendency upon the part of a certain type of employer to scrap their agreements with labor, cast them in the waste basket and openly declare that they will not live up to their written word. Especially has this been true in certain fields in the mining industry. And in each case of that character the violation of contract has brought suffering, distress and

sacrifice upon the workers. And what good has come from it all? None whatever. It is but another manifestation of the American desire of that type of employer to shove the worker backward and downward to the old-time poverty level by wrecking and destroying his only real protector—his union.

But even the brutality of this attack has not swerved organized labor from its true course, nor dimmed its determination to forge ahead toward its ultimate goal. However vicious this attack may be, it is but an incident in the great struggle of the toiling masses for justice and right.

Let us all hope that the next labor year will see an end to this assault upon the integrity of business and industry. Let us all strive for the attainment of harmony and good-feeling in industry. What is most needed in industry these days is a finer conception of the meaning of co-operation. Men must learn that co-operation means co-operation by all parties concerned and not by one side alone.

Labor's battles of the past are gone into history. Labor's battles of the future remain to be fought. Upon the outcome of this great struggle depends the realization of human rights and labor's aspirations. Organized labor never did and it never will shrink from the struggle for these ideals.

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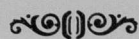
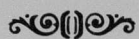
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PSYCHOLOGY OF SAFETY

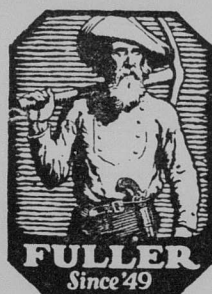
Whenever a new development appears in human life we have to learn to live with it. That means that our minds have to become accustomed to it so that we automatically adjust ourselves to living with it on terms of safety.

When railroads were first proposed in England, the stage-coach drivers and the farmers protested. They said that horses would never become accustomed to these snorting, puffing, smoking devil-machines. But in time, horses and even people learned to live in the same world with steam engines and fast trains.

Exactly the same thing is happening with the automobile today. It has developed so rapidly that as yet, whether as drivers or pedestrians, we have not learned to live with it on terms of safety. We can pass all the laws and ordinances and regulations we please but accidents will occur until the human mind accepts the automobile as a factor in every-day dangers instinctively without having to stop and think what life and learns to live with it automatically, so that we avoid we are going to do.

This is the essential point made by Dr. J. M. Cattell in an article on "Highway Safety" in a recent number of the Scientific Monthly. Doctor Cattell is no novice on this subject. Fifty years ago he made the first experiments and the first measurements of individual differences or what are now called the "time reactions" of different individuals under circumstances calling for quick action.

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others. The old "bad man" in western frontier days was "quick on the trigger." If he wasn't quicker than the other man, he wasn't a bad man very long. Some people can't act quickly. It takes a long time for the message to go from the eye to the brain and back to the hands or feet. They are the people who run into the other car or into the ditch if they are driving or who get hit if they are walking.

Doctor Cattell proposes that each person who drives a car can be given a series of psychological tests to determine whether he can drive a car with safety to himself and others. He says: "We need to use psychological methods to determine how well an individual can drive a car and how he will be able to learn by practice. Individuals differ greatly in ability to drive. Those who cannot drive without risk to others should not be permitted on the highways. These tests can be made in a few hours and may save many lives."

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RED HUE NOT RUNNING PALE

By Chester M. Wright.

Reports from Russia make it clear that the censorship is concealing a good deal. But what is coming through makes it equally clear that whatever may be concealed, there is and has been no real change in Russia as to policy, tactics or philosophy.

American newspaper editorials indicate a tendency in several sections to assume that Russia is undergoing a strong swing to milder tactics, away from the dictatorship and toward something with which the rest of the world can reasonably deal.

That is emphatically not the case. Those who have followed closely the developments in Russia since the overthrow of the czar and the subsequent

overthrow of the democratic Kerensky government know that recent events have made no change, except changes in personnel and changes in policies of the most superficial character.

Stalin remains the strong super-dictator in Russia, just as he was before the death of Djerjinski.

Stalin's principal emphasis, now as formerly, is on "the world revolution," which means a continuance of propaganda throughout the world with that in view. He is a fanatic in upholding every phase of the tactics of the dictatorship as it has developed since the advent of Lenin, and of the whole philosophy upon which the ruthless dictatorship of the proletariat is founded.

To assume that there has been any change which might warrant even so much as consideration of a change in policy is to betray a lack of all understanding of the relative significance of events in Russia. The dictatorship remains the dictatorship!

THE TRANSMISSION.

When replacing the transmission after overhauling your car, you should oil the bearings with a light oil instead of grease, according to the Free Emergency Road Service of the California State Automobile Association. The grease will stop up the oil return hole forcing the oil along the shaft into the clutch case.

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POST AND MONTGOMERY STREETS

WOMEN'S WAGES LOWER

Industrial Commissioner Hamilton of the State of New York does not accept the theory that there is no unemployment. In referring to "the reserve of surplus labor that persists through good times and bad," he says:

"One of the most impressive facts brought out in the whole study is the large reserve of labor necessary to maintain the working force that appears on the payroll of each industry."

Wage working women in New York state are paid 56 per cent less than men, and they are confronted with different conditions than men, in that they work in smaller groups.

These two points, together with a reference to the labor surplus in production, are features of a report on "Earnings of Women in Factories," by State Industrial Commissioner James A. Hamilton.

Women work in different trades and occupations from those of men, he says, but taking all places open to women and all those open to men in factories the average earnings for men in 1924-25 were \$31.36 a week, and that for women were \$17.45, or about 56 per cent of the earnings received by the men.

The report stresses the narrow range of jobs open to women. There are few or no industries, even in the food and sewing groups, where men form less than 20 per cent of the working force, but there are many industries where women make up less than one per cent of all the workers. Over

60 per cent of all the women in factories are in either the clothing or the textile groups, and the food industries take 10 per cent more. Women are only slightly represented in the important metals group and very few are at work on wood products or the manufacturing of building materials like cement and brick, where employment has been unusually high in the last two years.

The report also emphasizes that irregular employment either for seasonal or other reasons is likely to bear most heavily on women workers. Women are much more likely to feel the effects of seasonal unemployment than men. In the type of seasonal industry where the whole force is subject to irregular employment, as in the sewing trades, women tend to get much more of it than the men. In the other type of seasonal work, like candy factories, where a steady force is maintained throughout the year, and extra workers hired for the busy season, these extra workers are almost entirely women.

Payrolls show, even more than employment, the irregularity to which women workers are subject. The difference in earnings from dull to busy seasons is much greater for women than men.

"One of the most impressive facts brought out in the whole study," said the commissioner, "is the large reserve of labor necessary to maintain the working force that appears on the payrolls of each industry."

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INJUNCTION IGNORES LABOR QUESTION

By Hon. John R. Ford, Justice New York State Supreme Court

The labor question presents new problems unknown to courts of equity when our government was founded.

Equity rules appertain for the most part to property rights—the rights of capital. Today the courts persist in stretching these rules to crush labor organizations on the theory that labor is a commodity, without the slightest recognition of human souls and American homes which the term labor connotes. Yet the courts refuse to give recognition to this obvious truth.

The fact is that the labor question is a law by

itself and should be so treated by the law because of the human elements composing it.

I have quoted from the Daugherty (railroad) injunction, so-called. Do not forget that the United States of America itself was the complainant in that suit. And bear in mind that the Constitution forbids Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. Also remember that that injunction was granted without notice to the labor unions or their members. There was nothing before the judge fit to submit. Yet this injunction was so issued except such papers as the attorney general saw

which, by a stroke of the pen, turned into crimes acts which before that were innocent and unpunishable.

I say it turned innocent acts into crimes. It may be said that they were not made crimes, but only contempt of court. To that I answer that to the citizen who finds himself in jail, it makes little difference what the act is called for which he is being punished.

Furthermore, he would be better off if it were called a crime because then his rights would be protected by the ample safeguards provided by the ordinary criminal procedure which, with exceeding care, protects the rights and liberties of the humblest.

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WASTE IN INDUSTRY IS COSTLY

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The new attitude has been gradual. It is often unnoticed.

With the worker's development comes a knowledge that his interests are linked with every social activity. He points to the price that he—and every other citizen—pays for industrial disorder and chaos.

The unionists' new attitude is not based on theory. It is based on life's experiences and necessities.

It is a natural sequence of labor's protests against ignorance, unsanitation, preventable sickness and fatalities in industry.

The workers have a mine of information and the machinery to exploit same. But this is often ignored by those who insist on the autocratic ideal; who believe that the theory of management is to "give orders."

The autocrat strives to develop a spirit, a morale, among employees, but he cannot realize that this is a growth rather than a creation.

The mere mechanics of good-will is futile. Company "unions" and welfare plans will not suffice.

Workers must be accorded, in full measure, the right to unite and to develop their own selves by their own method.

Their demand for a voice in industry, for the correction of evils that tax all, must be granted.

The demand to eliminate all forms of waste in industry indicates the expansion of trade unionism.

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THE HEALTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Some time ago an article appeared in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Why Men Crack." Out of a list of 150 men of good prospects in business, 97 had fallen down because of ill health, and only 9 or 10 had unavoidable diseases. The rest merely seemed to be worn out before the age of 45, and their bodies were simply unable to stand the strain of modern business any longer.

Their resistance is so weak, due to improper food, irregular hours and improper care of themselves in the rush of every-day life and business that they are susceptible to most every disease that comes along.

Yeast helps people like that in preventing disease by building them up physically and making them more able to resist same. As is known, constipation is one of the most common ills of mankind and Yeast one of the most effective and simplest cures for same. Yeast also relieves indigestion and clears the skin of unhealthy pimples and boils. It tones up the system and even people who think they're perfectly all right notice a tremen-

dous difference after they eat Yeast for a while. It seems to act a good bit like the spark in a gasoline motor—it puts energy into the system.

This Yeast that does so much is nothing mysterious—it is a plant, a vegetable just as lettuce is a vegetable. But it is very minute—microscopic in fact—and is cultivated with the greatest care to insure its strength and wholesomeness.

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Senator Norris was discussing a young politician.

"He'll do," said the Senator. "He has the faculty of refusing a request in such a manner that the refusal is almost like conferring a favor. He reminds me of a woman who had rejected a persistent suitor. 'So she turned you down?' his friend asked. 'Yes, but she was very gracious about it.' 'What did she say?' 'She said she couldn't think of marrying me, but she hoped that I would keep on and prosper, so that some day she might be able to point me out to her husband as the man she might have married.'"

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WHAT DOES LABOR WANT?

By Paul Scharrenberg,

A Sketch of the Great Conspiracy to Win Better Living and Working Conditions For All Humanity.

One hundred years ago a number of Philadelphia leather workers were tried and convicted in the courts of the United States on the charge of conspiring to raise their wages. The judge who decided the case declared that if workmen were permitted to combine for the purpose of bettering their condition the business of the country would forthwith go to rack and ruin. Business could be carried on, he stated, only when the rate of wages lay absolutely within the control of the individual employer.

A few years ago, when Congress voted to include in the anti-trust bill a clause which might be interpreted as exempting labor organizations from prosecution for restraint of trade, the cry went up from labor's enemies that the constitutional rights of citizens were being abridged and the fundamental institutions of the country threatened.

These two instances, with a century of steady progress between them, illustrate the attempt on the part of the anti-labor interests—that is to say, interests which profit by the exploitation of labor—to represent the labor movement as one which threatens the welfare of the community. The fundamental fallacy of this view lies in the fact that the interests of labor, which are far wider than

the actual recorded membership in trade unions, are the interests of the greater part of the population of the country, and of precisely that part which performs the useful work without which no nation or community could live a single week. Labor is the maker and the principal consumer. Better the condition of labor and you advance the civilization of the world. Hurt labor and you hurt the world. Build your civilization on a basis of exploited labor and your civilization will topple you back into barbarism.

We are altogether too much the slaves of phrases. We live, as Stevenson said, not by bread alone, but principally by catch-words. Among these catch-words there are none more misleading than those conventionally applied to the men who do the work of the world. Labor is balanced with Capital, as if the one were of the same substance and the same sanctity as the other; the "working classes" are compared with heaven knows what other "classes," as though it had been ordained from the beginning that some should work and some should not, and that the latter should be honored more than the former.

To understand the labor movement and to get away from the tendency to classify labor as no more than an offshoot of humanity, one might sit down and consider his material surroundings. Labor has made your clothes; labor dug the foundation, poured the cement, put up the frame, and finished the house in which you live; labor furnishes you with light, fuel and food; labor builds roads and streets; labor lays down rails and wires and carries you where you want to go; labor looks after your comforts, your desires and your necessities from the time you are born until you come to die, and are buried. Labor, in this form, does not look like a conspiracy against human welfare. Rather it looks like organized, life-long, patient, essential service.

Again, labor is mankind, built on your own pattern, whether you be a millionaire or digger. Labor has the desire to be happy, and the right to be happy, as you and all mankind have it.

When we consider, therefore, what labor wants we are not discussing the policies of a secret society, or a sect, or a denomination, or a group, or an organization. No; we have before us the desires and hopes and dreams of the world. Because labor is made up of men it makes its mistakes and follows its blind trails; because it is fundamentally right, and fundamentally devoted to the welfare of the whole human race, the main trend of its advance is true and right.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American

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Federation of Labor, summarized the hopes of the workingmen in words which do not need to be amended:

"What does labor want? It wants the earth and the fullness thereof. There is nothing too precious, there is nothing too beautiful, too lofty, too ennobling, unless it is within the scope and comprehension of labor's aspirations and wants.

"We want more school houses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures, to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful, and childhood more happy and bright."

Labor unions are not revolutionary organizations. They do not hope to attain their ends by a cataclysmic stroke. They advance slowly, pace by pace, gaining one right and going forward to claim another. But they will not be satisfied until they have obtained the full product of their labor, for on that basis alone can there be an equitable distribution of wealth.

Labor's practical demands, made to individual employers, are for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Upon these three fundamental demands is built the whole philosophy of the labor movement. Labor demands higher wages because higher wages mean a higher standard of living, better health, more opportunities for its children, better citizenship, and greater happiness. Labor demands a shorter working day because it affords opportunity for education, for wholesome amusement, for family life, and for the development of a higher type of man and woman. Overwork, like any other unhealthy condition, breaks down the worker, turns him into a machine, takes all but the machine-like qualities out of him, and throws him on the scrap-heap before his time. An overworked nation is a weak, unprogressive nation. Finally, labor demands protection from unhealthy or dangerous working conditions, because they manifestly cause cruel and wanton injury to the worker, and are a needless sacrifice of the lives and welfare of many men to the greed of a few.

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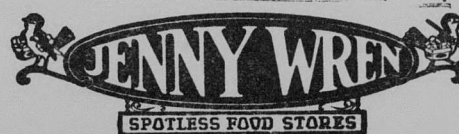
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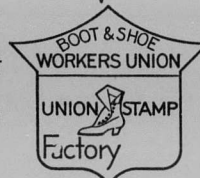
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working day, the increasing of the working wage, and the securing of safe and healthful conditions of work—labor has built up and maintained its organization. It is important to note that each one of these demands, in the proportion in which they are attained, benefit, not labor alone, but all society. In the long run they even benefit the men who are now the masters of labor, but who will some time fill the more honorable position of servants of labor. The conflict which exists between employers and employed is not so much a conflict between men as it is a conflict between the theory that wages ought to be fixed by the law of supply and demand, as if labor were a commodity and could be measured out in bushels, and the theory that labor has the inalienable right to what it produces. It is a fight between a theory of wages and a theory of equitable profit-division.

In struggling for a few fundamental things labor has made its own every movement and every policy which promises to take the world a step nearer social justice. The struggle for political democracy has been and is labor's struggle, just as the struggle for industrial democracy is labor's. The devices by which popular government is being restored to the people are labor's. The initiative, the referendum and the recall found their first support in the ranks of labor. Labor secured the passage of the compensation laws by which the risks of industry were taken from the back of the helpless worker, organized and unorganized alike, and placed on the broad shoulders of the community. No progressive movement, aiming toward greater equality of opportunity, and the betterment of the average man, ever fails of labor's support. Labor, and not labor's enemies, stands in the front rank of progress toward a better state of society. The enemies of labor are invariably the enemies also of all beneficial change.

Labor, it was said above, is a word which has been abused. The People is another phrase which has been dragged in the dust of politics for, lo, these many years. But it is good to remember that labor, in the large sense, is the People, that the People are Labor, and that the welfare of these organizations through which labor strives, is, in the final analysis, the welfare of us all. Labor, the great conspirator, plots to bring better days to all humanity.


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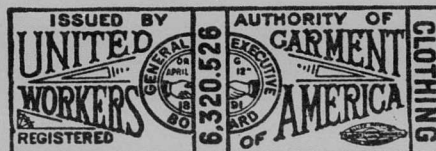
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ITALIANS IN AMERICA

(Article translated from the Italian labor daily *Il Lavoro d'Italia*, published at Rome, Italy, July 9, 1926, by Theodore Johnson.)

The conditions of Italians in America have not changed much since before the war. While there exists among them greater material prosperity expressed in higher wages, there appears little or no response on their part to the aspirations of New Italy. The Italians, native of Italy, whom we see returning as "Americans," with pockets full of dollars, displaying showy jewelry and talking automobiles and big investments, give us an idea that America is a sort of fairyland, where money is easily made, without work or trouble. Could we only know what misery and sacrifices those diamonds, gold watches and dollars represent, it would amaze us beyond belief.

Excepting workers of select crafts and highly specialized skill, who enjoy high wages and short

hours, the majority of workers must year in and year out submit to hardships of apprenticeship and other humiliating conditions in order to eke out at best a tolerable living. Often after a long period of toil, penury and saving our emigrants may succeed in laying up a little nest egg, by means of which some reach a state of independence, or may in some instances attain what is considered wealth; but as far as the great number is concerned they suffer in the end material and moral degradation, losing contact with their families and winding up in absolute ruin. If they would submit at home to the toil and hardships they undergo as emigrants, they would attain their reward at home more easily than abroad. But having undergone years of toil and having reached a state of comfort, they forget their hardships and what they have gone through and look with pity on the poor devils that stayed in Italy to earn a living by working for wages.

But even though comfortably fixed, the emigrant leads a poor and desolate life; poor particularly in a spiritual sense. Like overgrown boys, primitive persons, or even Americans whom they imitate, they take their pleasures only in the more or less costly playthings; the poorer must amuse themselves with phonographs, the more well-to-do with the radio and the automobile. These are the first signs of coming affluence; later comes the piano in a house furnished without taste, then the apparel and the luxury of the dinner table. The still more well-to-do acquire a country place or display their wealth at the ocean beaches—and that is the whole story.

But the life of the average emigrant is a life of isolation, lack of contact with social and civil affairs, and without any inner or spiritual touch with life and the world. Far from their native soil, to which their minds perpetually return in memories and longings; surrounded as if by a circle of iron of hostile Americans, unable to understand them, and with whom they cannot possibly assimilate, they drag out a sorry and desolate existence, as if condemned by fate to lead a

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spiritually empty and forlorn life. They feel the want of what they cannot express, what they cannot analyze; sometimes a feeling of contentment follows upon material success, and no other end is sought.

The Calvary of Intellectuals.

But the real tragedy in the situation is of a more refined character. There is in the Italian an element always superior to that found in the corresponding class of Americans. The professional possesses a finer culture and a truer and purer conception of his vocation than the more diffused and superficial American. The specialist is more intelligent and versatile and less hurried than his American colleague. The artist surpasses the American in technic and charm.

Despite these fine qualities, the Italian intellectual, with but few exceptions, suffers and loses his advantage through various "handicaps" that keep him chained to a lower social level. To rise above such inferior position would require an almost brutal energy and endurance which but few possess, wherefore in most cases they must give up the heart-breaking effort. The first exasperating handicap is the language of which complete knowledge and perfect use must be acquired and without which success is impossible in any line of endeavor. Next to be overcome is the particular prejudice against any race other than the Anglo-Saxon, an obstacle as severe as the proverbial camel's task of going through the eye of a needle.

And understand us here, if there be Italians who succeed in making friends with Americans, they will be invited to dinners or receptions, but not to go any further. Not like a permanent friend, or to become one of them. For there are too many things separating them: language, manners, prejudices and distrust. We are not interested in their affairs and they are not in ours. What pleases and amuses us is cold to them, and vice versa.

Well-educated Italians find Americans dull, wanting in refinement, noisy and vulgar in their

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pastimes, immature and superficial in conversation. The Americans find the Italians incomprehensible in their sentiments, cumbersome in their expressions, ridiculous in their exaggerated respect for the formal, and somewhat boring by reason of their lack of "humor," about which much ado is made in the Anglo-Saxon world and without which a person is not considered being altogether human.

The greatest obstacle of all, one that raises an unsurmountable barrier between the elements of Italian culture and the corresponding American is the economic conditions. Always remembering not to consider the exceptional cases, we find the Italian professional, artist or intellectual weighing less in American estimation. The American is placed on a higher level, which the Italian can never touch—a characteristic always to be found in a country where economic values are supreme. This is the case among the greatest number, the unfortunates, those intellectuals who of necessity much attach themselves to manual and unskilled labor.

The writer has known professionals who for twenty years or more were simple ironers on shirts, dishwashers or common laborers.

Under such conditions the life of intellectuals in America partakes of the character of the ante-room to the inferno; they live in a debasing and deadening solitude that exasperates and fills their soul with resentment and bitterness. Many of them, after endeavoring for some time to keep their spirit equal to its original level, give up the effort, become dejected and lose every vestige of culture and education; they are like the candle that is snuffed out.

Race Prejudice.

We have described how difficult, if not impossible, it is for Italians, even those of superior character, to become assimilated into American life, and the same condition confronts the descendants of immigrants. Sometimes persons of Italian descent, as if by a miracle, a few first in the second generation and after reaching maturity, and in the older settled parts only in the third and fourth generation, succeed in their endeavors to assimilate and become a part of American life. They remain, however, in the lower avocations,

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The great barrier against those born, nurtured and educated in the country still remaining is the inborn prejudice of race. To Americans of Anglo-Saxon stock, the son of an Italian who is born in America, and the son of his son, always will remain an Italian, and he is called an Italian, not to mention any other disparaging nickname applied to him by inhabitants of that country.

He is up against a silent and systematic boycott; it may not be deliberate, but it works nevertheless instinctively and automatically. Any one unacquainted with the tenacity of race prejudice among the Anglo-Saxons, which in some cases verges upon hatred toward everything foreign, cannot understand it. We Latin peoples, among whom race sentiment slumbers, cannot have any real conception of the social and po-

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litical conditions and tendencies due to this Anglo-Saxon sentiment.

An Italian, therefore, who is struggling vainly to break the circle surrounding him, is like a caged animal and is doomed for life to live in the foreign quarter.

Grievances of Colonists.

These conditions can be easily remedied. The intellectuals, bound by the fetters we have described, possibly could not succeed in a movement seeking to remove them, yet they have it in their own hands to overcome some of these well-nigh unsurmountable obstacles. The majority of them are unnecessarily guided by the custom of adhering to the bad principle of localizing their activities.

Italian emigrants live grouped into small centers of their countrymen, into which they transplant their old customs and characteristics, their mutual aid societies, their celebrations and processions and the jealousies and rivalries between

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their different congregations. Excepting in times of national crisis and excitement, which the patriotism of the emigrants is shown in its full glory through contributions of money and supplies, it is a difficult task to unite Italians in great endeavors and to direct their activities, which are easily lost in futile and conflicting aims, towards higher and more worthy objects.

Nothing we observe in the life of Italian emigrants rankles in their breast as much as the criminal neglect shown by the old government, which thrust them out into the world like pariahs, without means of making a livelihood, schooling, or with the least conception of the privilege of citizenship. Yet, they must have been descendants of good stock, these emigrants, who, although poverty-stricken and furnished with such poor equipment in their task of making headway in a struggle for existence among a better disciplined and organized people, nevertheless did not lose their love for the old country, but have shown an ever-increasing attachment thereto.

Some time before the war the type of our emigrants began to change. There came no longer only the ignorant, the destitute and those afflicted with the semi-feudal defects and vices, from which we have escaped. There began to come a younger educated and skilled element, including mechanics and agriculturists of higher training. But this movement ceased during the war period. It resumed after the war, until the restricted immigration law was passed, which completely shut the door against our immigration. Had this

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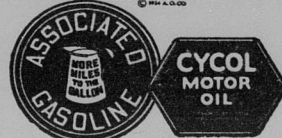
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It is the nature of man to be confident about the future. Hardships and misfortunes are soon forgotten and present welfare is usually accepted as a guarantee of the days to come. Dwellers on the slopes of volcanic mountains flee in terror before floods of lava and return soon afterward to rebuild their homes under the same old menace; farmers in the valley of the Mississippi lose their crops year after year but steadfastly decline to retreat to higher ground. In the same way, trade union members soon forget the lessons of the past in the enjoyment of organization advantages, and come to assume that Providence will look after them without requiring any effort on their part to defend what they have won.

Such an attitude toward life's problems comes near to being as irrational as the Christian Scientist in Al Jolson's story who sat on a hot stove and then said: "What's that I smell burning?"

But nevertheless that is the attitude of a vast number of otherwise sensible persons, many of whom would be better trade unionists if they would take thought of their actual situation and its environing perils.

A century ago all of Europe was under the spell of Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor and reactionary genius. The cry, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" of revolutionary France found an echo in the middle class of nearly every country but, under the leadership of Metternich, was vigor-

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ously and effectually suppressed. Attempts to democratize the government of any country brought the stern disapproval of the powers and the threat to eliminate the offending country from the European Alliance, which literally meant war and foreign domination. The rights of men were rigorously denied, only dynasties and their aristocratic satellites had rights. This concerted endeavor to restore and maintain medieval special privilege endured until the development of the industrial revolution gave middle class industrialists and merchants such wealth and power that their demands could no longer be withstood. Metternich, the chief diplomatic and governmental figure of Europe, stood firm to the last for royal and aristocratic principles until the democratic uprising of 1848 swept him away. His palace was sacked and burned and he fled from Vienna to London. The last determined stand of absolutism had failed.

Aligned with the middle class manufacturers and tradesmen, who had been made rich by the new industrialism of steam, the working classes fought and struggled valiantly for Liberalism. In England the Reform Bill of 1832 gave the right to vote to the property-holding middle class, but left the workers unenfranchised, although it was the agitation of the workers that had driven the land-holding class to allow the reform. The oppressed factory workers and farm laborers were about to learn where their real danger lay. It was the capitalistic middle class, profiting by Adam Smith's "natural law of wages," which operated to hold

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worker's income to a bare living, and it was the capitalistic class that knew no conscience when it came to exploiting workers. Even in the old days of serfdom, the feudal landlord knew a limit in his oppression of workers; he would stop short of starving them because the lives and health of his serfs represented property.

The new capitalistic class of industrialism and world-wide commerce recognized no such limit. Under the specious excuse that competition left no room for philanthropic indulgence, he stood determined to exact the last ounce of energy from his workers and to pay the lowest possible wages in return. If death deprived him of a worker, the over-surplus of labor would provide another. This new master of men clung tenaciously to the doctrine of laissez-faire, he wanted no government interference—unless, perchance, it would benefit the sacrosanct business world, in which case he was strong for sending the army and navy far afield to open up new markets by the route of "imperialism."

Trade unionism intervened to prevent the actual destruction of the race by factory exploitation. And trade unionism has remained since the sole protection against a return to the worst forms of human exploitation the world has ever known. The capitalistic class remains unchanged in this and other countries. For propaganda purposes it sometimes assumes a disguise but at heart it clings to the right to take the last pound of flesh in its dealings with labor.

It seems to be human nature for most men to take all they can get in business dealings, espe-

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cially when such excellent excuses as "competitive necessity" and "freedom of contract" are ready at hand.

Trade unionism was established only after a long and bitter struggle, martyrdom of leaders and sacrifice by the rank and file. It has been worth the fight and it is certainly worth defending. The enemy is prepared to take advantage of any show of weakness and to crush the institution that lies in the way of exploitation of the working class. Yet there are many who fail to appreciate the worth to them of unionism, many who are indifferent toward their union obligations. Attendance at local union meetings in many cities is disgracefully scant.

Worse still is the indifference of the members of one craft toward the condition of their brothers in other crafts. The organized plumber cares little about what happens to the organized printer, the organized printer seldom concerns himself about conditions in the mining industry, and so throughout all crafts. A few leaders strive for the cause of labor in general, but workers are grossly, stupidly indifferent. The union label should be a victorious weapon in the hands of the organized workers, but it falls short because the labor movement does not possess the complete loyalty of its members.

I am too much of an optimist, however, to lose heart. The time is coming when the American labor movement will advance as a unit toward the goal of a higher idealism. Modern educational and journalistic growth is lending new strength to

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We must learn that no man ever suffers alone from a just economic system; there is always a way out and that way can be found by combined effort.

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San Francisco Labor Council

Minutes of Meeting Held In the Labor Temple Friday Evening, August 27, 1926

Called to order at 8 p. m. by President William P. Stanton.

Roll Call of Officers—All present, excepting Treasurer J. J. McTiernan, excused.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and approved as printed in the Labor Clarion.

Credentials—Bookbinders: Albert Bertholdi vice August Halling, seated.

Communications—Filed: from S. F. Building Trades Council, Minutes. Eber & Sheehan, clothiers, 222 Powell, offering trade unionists wearing apparel on weekly payment plan.

Referred to Executive Committee; from the American Federation of Labor, proposing the establishment of speaking classes to promote federal child labor constitutional amendment.

Report Executive Committee—After discussion of complaint of Grocery Clerks against Elliot's Grocery on Mission street, matter was laid over to enable parties in interest to adjust their differences. Agreement of Butchers 508, laid over, no committee from the Union appearing.

Reports of Unions—Auto Mechanics 1305, will parade and have a float in Oakland parade; ask union men to sign pledge cards to patronize union shops. Federal employees will parade. Butchers 115 have renewed their agreement with employers for one year; put Chinese butcher in Mission out of business through appeal to consumers; Musicians No. 6, Secretary Greenbaum gave detailed description of the Union's controversy with the Allied Amusement Industries, as to hours, day of rest, the right to hire substitutes on day off, and extra pay for costumes worn in orchestras.

Trades Union Promotional League—Is distributing list of stores handling union labeled wearing apparel; will have display of labels in Oakland Labor Day parade.

Educational Committee—Recommended that there be set aside as special order for 9 o'clock Friday evening, September 17, when committee will have prominent educators explain to the Labor Council present innovations in public education of the work-study play plan. Junior High schools and intelligence testing; and that there be taken a ballot in the audience as to their opin-

ions in regard to said subjects. Recommendation was on motion concurred in.

Organizing Committee—Reported having assisted the cigar makers in their present organizing campaign.

Law and Legislative Committee—Requested the Council to set a date for hearing on Brotherhood Bank. On motion, date set for committee to meet on Thursday evening, September 2nd, at 8 p. m.

Report of Labor Day Committee read and filed. Next meeting Saturday evening, September 4, 1926.

Thomas J. Flaherty, general secretary of National Federation of Postal Clerks, addressed the Council, on recent happenings in Washington and

Congress, and the progress of organization among employees in the Post Office Department; rural letter carriers are the latest addition to the other three large organizations of government employees. Recited character and influence in Congress of California representatives, including the late John I. Nolan and the late Lawrence J. Flaherty.

New Business—On motion, the stand of Musicians' Union in the controversy with the Allied Amusement Industries, was indorsed by a unanimous vote.

Receipts—\$200.42. **Expenses**—\$151.50.
Council adjourned at 9:35 p. m.

Fraternally submitted,
JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary

Note—All trade unionists and families should celebrate Labor Day in Oakland this year; free tickets for Idora Park picnic in the afternoon to be had through officers of unions, and offices of Labor Council and Building Trades Council. Parade starts from Second and Broadway at 11 a. m. sharp. Literary Exercises begin in the Civic Auditorium at 8 p. m., the Grand Ball at 10 p. m.

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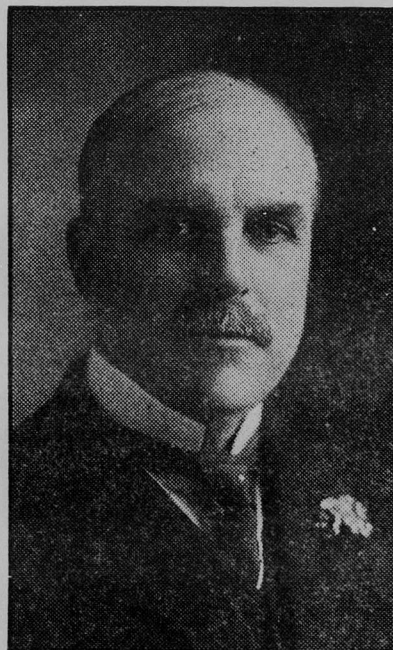
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Factional Fights in Unions

A Study in Human Relations in the Labor Movement
By A. J. Muste, Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT Responsible and Efficient Officials

To the question, "what can be done about the internal conflicts that so often affect the labor movement?" the whole trend of our discussion suggests the answer that we cannot be confident that much can be done—human beings are "like that"—and therefore we must not be too tender-minded about these little fights that periodically rend and tear the movement. There is a good deal of truth in the recent statement of one sociologist to the effect that only a liberal, living in a dream world "wants to change the conflict into calm, the active passion of the movement into a quiescent deliberation of plans—and parades! In brief, the struggle is one of trial and error and no arm-chair discussion will shorten its spirit."

Yet it would be as unreasonable as it is impossible simply to rest the case there. All parties will admit in their calmer moments that they have made mistakes, mistakes which have hurt their own cause as well as the movement in general, mistakes which could have been avoided had the situation been more clearly analyzed and understood. Dissension has not always characterized the movement. We are quick enough to try to heal the divisions caused by the foes of labor; we cannot contemplate with entire equanimity the divisions caused by ourselves of which our foes take full advantage.

I venture then to advance certain suggestions in three fields; the field of trade union structure and administration, the field of workers' education and the field of ethics.

Democratic Sham

Until the Great War the remedy usually proposed for the evils of bureaucracy, machine politics, and abuse of authority was some device intended to give the masses more direct control over legislation and administration and to decentralize authority and responsibility. This type of remedy has lost much of its popularity. It has repeatedly been made evident that such devices do not necessarily serve to make the process of government more democratic in fact, and certainly not more efficient.

In the trade union movement also there has been a shift of opinion in this field. The shams of democracy so-called are pretty generally seen through. On the whole we may set this down as a gain. The union will not cope effectively with the ever more highly organized enemy save as it also develops a high degree of organization and a strong centralized authority. Nor need we be alarmed that this will mean less democracy, that is, less expression and enforcement of the general will than has prevailed in the past.

If we are, however, to have strong and responsible administration, some means must be provided to guard against the abuse to which groups in power are undeniably prone and upon which we have sufficiently elaborated in other sections of this discussion. A trade union machine, like any other, may be kept relatively honest and efficient, as we see it, on two conditions—first, that there be frequent infusion of new blood and, second, that its members be experts trained for their work and having a sufficient incentive, barring exceptions, for good work.

The Catholic Church

On the first point the Roman Catholic Church would seem to furnish a brilliant example. Control in the church is very highly centralized and rigorously exercised, but throughout its history "the way to the top" has apparently been remarkably open for talent and genius regardless of origin, and this is probably one of the reasons why we have in the church an organization which as an organization has had no rival in the history of civilization.

Now in the case of the unions, new blood may be infused into the administration in one of two ways—directly or indirectly, and the second is fully as important as the first. The tradition in many trade union bodies at present is to keep young people out of important positions. When a vacancy occurs it is apt to be given to an older

man on the basis of real or supposed service to the union in the past rather than on the basis of fitness for the particular job and ability to produce results in the future. Business houses

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CLEMENCEAU ON CIVILIZATION.

Clemenceau, the aged French statesman, more familiarly known as "The Tiger" in French politics, has just completed an important book entitled "Civilization," which sets forth the mature wisdom of this former War Premier of France. It is a book, according to the advance press announcements, filled with many doubts and misgivings on the part of Clemenceau of man's capacity to govern himself. He sees his fellow human beings on an eternal quest of power to shape the course of their government and their own lives. The result of this quest and of man's government is to him a mixture of some success with much of failure. To these critical reflections of the Sage of France, one is prompt to reply—it is well to aim for the stars even though you do land in a haystack! "'Tis not what man does which exalts him, but what he would do."

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Withal, the energies of youth are used constructively in ways that heighten rather than dissipate the morale of the movement. The more capable among them find outlet for their urge to power in leading their own group and by the time they seriously aspire to leadership in the movement as a whole they have served an apprenticeship which has given them a thorough grasp of the ideals of the movement and a drill in efficient administration methods calculated to protect them and the movement from ignorant mistakes and erratic experimentation.

Is it not possible, desirable, nay urgent, to form what might be called trade union youth clubs? Has not the movement in America suffered for lack of some such development? Why should there not be some youth organization directly linked up with the trade unions, especially here in America where the trade union is

at any rate the only type of labor organization that has any considerable hold on the masses of workers? It is true that there would be a special danger to be guarded against in that the trade union is a bargaining organization and no dual organization arrogating to itself bargaining functions in an industry could be allowed to arise; but this danger is not an insuperable one.

Set over against this the increasing loyalty to the unions that would be filled by thousands of young workers who would find at least part of their recreational and social life in direct contact with their unions, the impetus workers' education might receive if it were spontaneously initiated and organized by young people themselves; the enormous amount of practical service that trade union youth clubs might perform in spreading the propaganda of trade unionism, manning the picket line in time of strike, collecting relief funds, stimulating favorable opinion toward unionism, arranging meetings; the practical training the young members would thus receive in efficient and responsible conduct of organizations and which would stand them and the movement in good stead when they were called to assume responsibility in the unions themselves.

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German Labor Movement

II. PRE-WAR LABOR POLITICAL ACTION.

In sketching briefly the history of the working class movement in Germany we begin with the story of labor's activity in politics. Giving the priority in this way to the political as against the trade union movement may serve to impress upon our minds one of the interesting facts about the German movement, namely, that at least before the war the political wing was the dominant wing of that movement. To use a rough and ready generalization, we might say that in England the trade union movement created the Labor party; in France the labor political movement used the trade unions as battlegrounds for factional conflicts, and neither wing achieved very great strength in France before the war; in Germany, however, the Labor party made the trade unions. In the United States there is as yet no independent labor party of any great weight, but it is certain that if such a party ever comes into being it must

be largely a creation of the trade union movement. Thus Germany is unique in the dominance of the political wing of the movement, and this may serve to remind us that we cannot lay down absolute rules as to how the labor movement must develop; to some extent each country must be governed by its own needs and characteristics.

The first beginnings of working class activity in German political life date back to the revolution of 1848, a revolution that was mainly an attempt to establish democratic government and the supremacy of capitalism, as against the old land-owning nobility, as was the case in our own American revolution of 1776, or the French revolution of 1789. But at that time German industrial development was still in its infancy and the land owners were able to retain their political control and so to maintain absolute monarchy throughout Germany. Along with the cry for democratic government, however, there were sounded in the revolution of 1848 certain distinctly working class notes such as demands for the eight-hour day, old age and health insurance, and even for a Socialist commonwealth. Some of the men who afterwards became famous in socialist and labor history first became prominently active in this abortive 1848 revolution. Thus we encounter the names of Weitling, Most, Karl Marx, Engels and Lassalle.

Period of Reaction.

There follows a lull and a period of reaction during which many German workers and intellectuals emigrated to the United States. These men and their descendants developed great states like Wisconsin and many of them made an impression on American labor history.

In 1863 a considerable number of workers, mostly in northern Germany, were united by the great orator Lassalle into a party known as the German Workingmen's Association. Lassalle died in the following year but his followers carried on the work. In 1869 a group dominated by the philosophy of Karl Marx chiefly from Saxony and southern Germany formed the Social Democratic Workers' party. For some years these two groups engaged in bitter doctrinal controversies, as is apt to happen in the labor movement when it is small and weak or passing through a transition. The Marxians, who were also known as "Eisenachers" and whose leading figure was August Bebel, emphasized the class struggle between capital and labor; the Lassalleans were not so clear and emphatic on this point. The Marxians looked forward to a great socialist state controlling all industry; the Lassalleans had the ideal of co-operative associations of producers, something like the guilds of the guild socialists, that were to be encouraged by the state but were to be self-governed. The Marxians emphasized the necessity of building trade unions as well as organizing a labor political movement; the Lassalleans tended to emphasize political activities exclusively.

Unity Achieved.

The socialists were opposed to the Franco-Prussian war into which Bismarck led Germany in 1870. As was to have been expected, their opposition brought persecution on their heads. Possibly the attack by their common enemy helped to bring about a spirit of unity. At any rate the year 1875 witnessed the so-called Gotha Congress where the two wings of the movement united into a single party. The union was based on a compromise as most such unions are. The

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platform adopted at Gotha leaned toward Lassalleism and accordingly displeased Marx; but the leadership of the united group was from the beginning chiefly Marxian! The program of the Erfurt Congress of 1891 definitely placed the party on a Marxian basis.

Owing to the rapid rise of German industry, described in the preceding section, the Social Democratic party grew at a rapid pace following 1870. In 1877 it already polled nearly half a million votes. At that point Bismarck launched his anti-socialist laws and for a period of twelve years all political activity on the part of German workers was illegal and had to be carried on in underground secret fashion.

The steady progress of the socialist movement of Germany in the face of the Bismarckian persecution is one of the brightest spots in all the history of labor. Without resort to violence but with steady application to the work of agitation, organization, and education, the party built up its vote from something under half a million in 1878 to nearly a million and a half in 1890. Little wonder that the German government threw up its persecution of the Socialist party and the trade unions in 1890 for a bad job.

Great Strides.

From the time that the anti-socialist laws were repealed, the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Social Democratic party steadily grew in numbers and in influence until in 1912, as already indicated, the party polled over 4,250,000 votes and became the strongest single party in the German parliament.

Within the party, various tendencies manifested themselves in these latter years. At the extreme left were leaders like Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; there was a left center led by Haasse, Ledebour and Kautsky; a right center led by Scheidemann, and the Revisionists, so-called, led by Bernstein.

At the one extreme stood those who believed that the only hope lay in the forcible overthrow of the government and of the capitalist ruling class and the working out of a socialist regime under a proletarian dictatorship along the lines that Russia subsequently took. At the other extreme the Revisionists argued that the trade union and the labor political movement had already accomplished great changes in the capitalist system, had achieved many rights for the workers, had built up many co-operative institutions which foreshadowed a new industrial order and that therefore a steady, gradual and peaceful progress along the lines being pursued would eventually bring in a day of justice and brotherhood for all. They regarded it as suicidal to pursue any other course.

The Great War presently brought a test for many of these theories, but that is another story.

(Continued next week.)

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bitter and false relations to other men; for the
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the minor virtues. How much of human life is
lost in waiting! Let him not make his fellow-
creatures wait. How many words and promises
are promises of conversation! Let his be words
of fate.—Emerson.

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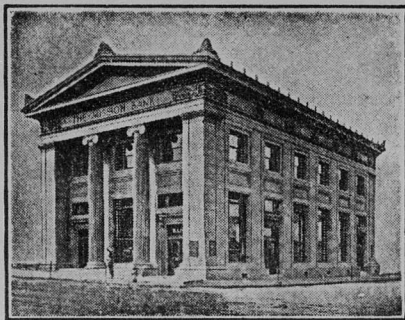
Under date of August 14, M. H. Beach, one of the quartet of operators who sailed for Japan to work on the Japan Advertiser, wrote the following to Secretary Michelson: "A few lines in appreciation of the trouble you were put to in getting the gang off to Japan. We arrived here on Thursday, August 5th, and went to work the following Saturday night. We arrived during the hottest time of the year, in fact, it is the hottest summer Japan has had for 30 years. Being a damp climate, the humidity is terrible. We have rented a house and arrangements are completed, except getting a couple of servants, to move in. We were put up at the Imperial Hotel, and were very cordially received. We have a very nice place to work and our fellow workers are all that could be wished. As yet everything is all strange to us, but the language is not near as hard as we thought it would be. Soon as things settle down to normal we will write you again and give you a little idea

of the city of Tokyo and Japan. By that time we will have secured a typewriter built on American lines." According to press dispatches of the past few days the boys must be having plenty of thrills, as earthquake shocks are reported as being almost daily occurrences in the island empire.

According to information received, the laws committee of the Colorado Springs convention will be composed of the following members: J. J. Hoban, Cleveland, chairman; Fred Barker, Spokane, secretary; L. T. Herman, Atlantic City; Geo. Russell, Peoria; R. H. Gilmore, Indianapolis; A. T. Armstrong, Tacoma, and J. W. Jefferson, Atlanta.

Some of our older members, who were employed in San Francisco during the late sixties and early seventies, may recall Dr. Wm. Edw. Ware, who was one of the prominent printers of that period. Mr. Ware was one of the original members of the Chronicle chapel, and after serving a few years

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as a printer he took up the study of dentistry and later became head of the first dental college in this city. He later enlisted in the United States Army with the idea of ultimately introducing dentistry as a regular part of the medical service in that branch of the government's activities. Dr. Ware and W. A. Bushnell were boyhood friends. Dr. Ware recently passed away at his home in Connecticut and was buried last week in the military cemetery at the Presidio.

According to information received from the Labor Day Committee in Oakland, the Allied Printing Trades Council will have a division in the parade next Monday, headed by a band and suitable banners. This division will form on the east side of Broadway on Fifth street not later than 11 a. m. Visiting members will be furnished with suitable regalia, and every member of No. 21 who can possibly do so is urged to visit Oakland and help swell the ranks of the Allied Printing Trades division on Labor Day.

Harry Young, delegate from No. 21 to the Colorado Springs convention, left Monday morning, accompanied by his family, for the convention city. They intend to make the trip in the family automobile, camping and sight-seeing en route. They will make stops in Salt Lake City and other

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points of interest going, and intend to return by way of El Paso and Albuquerque, and will be gone several weeks following the convention.

Delvin Markey, for many years employed in Kansas City, Mo., has transferred his field of activities to San Francisco, and is subbing on the Bulletin.

E. M. Blackford has recently disposed of his old Star automobile and has possessed himself of a fine new Studebaker coach.

F. J. Vierra, one of our hustling apprentice members, is desirous of assisting in the formation of a baseball team, with the ultimate idea of entering the Mid-Winter League. Mr. Vierra has had considerable experience in this line of endeavor, and if there are any apprentices or journeymen members of the union who would like to enter the baseball field we would request that they furnish their name and address to Secretary Michelson and the matter will be taken under consideration by the union.

I. L. Brokaw, a member of Minneapolis Union and an ex-delegate to Colorado Springs convention of 1906, visited San Francisco during the past week, and after a visit to numerous other coast cities will proceed to Colorado Springs to attend the 1926 convention.

C. E. Turner, secretary of the Fresno Union, accompanied by his wife, spent several days during the past week visiting San Francisco.

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It is reported that President J. F. Dalton of Los Angeles Union will be the reading clerk at the Colorado Springs convention.

Secretary Michelson, accompanied by his brother returned the latter part of last week from a ten Maurice, a member of the Oakland Mailers' Union, days' hiking trip through portions of Marin, Mendocino, and Sonoma counties. They report an enjoyable trip.

Before another issue of this paper appears all the delegates and visitors who will attend the Colorado Springs convention, which opens on September 13, will have left the city en route to convention headquarters. Delegate Eickworth, accompanied by his family, plan to make the trip by way of Santa Fe, stopping at the Grand Canyon en route. Delegate Hebner, accompanied by his wife, will spend a few days visiting in Los Angeles before proceeding to the convention city. Delegate Stauffer, accompanied by Geo. H. Knell, Thomas S. Black, and delegates from Stockton, Watsonville, and Fresno, will leave Wednesday by Western Pacific for Colorado Springs.

Winfield Scott, for the past several years employed as operator and proofreader on the Daily News, has drawn his traveler and accepted a situation in Gilroy.

L. M. Shaw, for the past several years a member of the Trade Publishing Company chapel, left the

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latter part of the week for southern California,
where he expects to seek work at the trade.G. B. Knott, who has been a member of No. 21
for the past couple of years, during which time
he took up the study of law in a local law school,
drew his travel this week and departed for his
old stamping grounds in the Northwest. Mr.
Knott successfully passed the recent bar examina-
tion, and after a little post-graduate work in the
Northwest, hopes to pass the bar examination of
one of the northern states and retire from the
printing business to take up the active practice
of his profession. While in San Francisco he
made a host of friends, who wish him success in
his endeavors in the professional field.

Daily News Notes—By L. L. Heagney.

Eddie Haefel raised lots of corns, even if he
didn't plant any. Crawling over clods, he collected
pounds of prunes on his Walnut Creek estate, to
say nothing of knee callouses. Which means that
Oriental rug dealers have an elegant opportunity
to dispose of a Mohammedan prayer rug before
prunes ripen in 1927.

Wm. Moore, formerly of the Bulletin but more

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recently of Butte and way points, is earning an honest livelihood piloting a Merg on the 3 p. m. watch.

A couple of months ago W. S. Leslie started teaching a friend to drive a Hudson, since when "Bill" has not touched his old Maxwell. Sunday they drove to Half Moon Bay, hunted up a hotel famous for its fish dinners and "Bill" says they left the dining room feeling like "better and wider men."

Wm. Davy showed up Monday feeling like Santa Claus and all his reindeer, and before evening had passed along some good news to four of the boys, raising Herb Hail and J. Baker, operators; "Chick" Smoot and Harry Fulton, hand grafters, to the lofty status of Daily News regulars.

For many a day "Win" (Winshield) Scott craved time to put his foot on the accelerator and leave it there, just to see if his Lizzie or the gas would give out first. It is understood such was his object in hiring a sub t. f., so his whereabouts cannot be stated definitely.

His face completely submerged in a large, sunny smile, Mike Sherman, our apprentice de luxe, hove into view after a vacation devoted mostly to the Charleston.

Harry Ball is "steamed up" about losing his job as chairman of the entertainment committee to Harry Crotty. Don't see no way to avoid it; didn't Crotty collect 75 smackers last week? And can't a monied man run a poor guy, no

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matter how charming his manners, into a social decline? Heigh ho, we'll say so! So who will censure our commuting friend for wanting to switch from fudge to the C. and C. department? Not even Harvey Bell, so he says.

On a Sunday outing to his duck hunting shack at Warm Springs, Skipper Davy parked his car in an old farm and a flock of chickens proceeded to roost on it. Their claws scraped the duco off in long strips and the skipper used more wind than did all the "pollies" in our recent primary before talking the Kleiber concern into a new paint job.

Twelve feet above the floor of the composing room is a ceiling that causes Wm. Clement to stoop to avoid scraping his dome, and if a vacation at Cloverdale so signally failed to stunt his growth, would it not be a gracious act to recommend that town for recreational purposes to Eddie Porter and Carey Liggett?

Chronicle Notes—By Victor Aro.

C. W. Rhodes, amiable proofreader, left recently for Salt Lake City to work on the Telegram.

A postcard was received from "Tony" Pastor, who was admitted to the Home, saying he was feeling much better but had no idea when or if he would return to San Francisco.

Bob Moore left last Monday for Mendocino county. Bob will be gone for a couple of weeks.

John Long has gone "big game hunting" in the Yosemite (with a camera). He promised to bring back a couple of bears, but some low-minded person cynically remarked that all he would bring back would be bull.

Long Beach is a paradise, according to George Hirst, who returned Monday from a motor tour of southern California.

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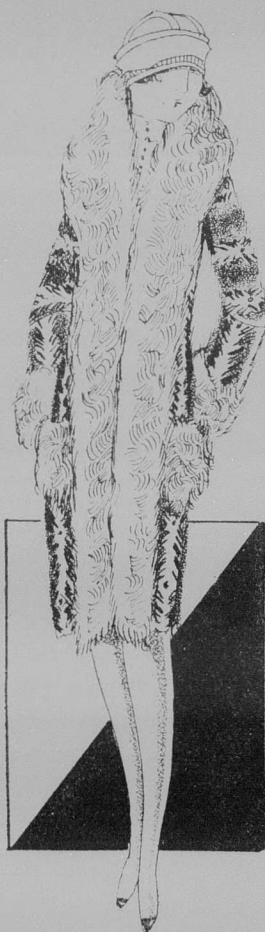
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